THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

With an Account of

THE DECLINE AND FALL

OF THE

ROMAN EMPIRE:

AND A

View of the Progress of Society,

FROM THE

RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS

To the Peace of Paris, in 1763.

In a SERIES of LETTERS from a NOBLEMAN to his SON.

A NEW EDITION, CAREFULLY CORRECTED.

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A

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF CONTENTS

OF THE

SECOND VOLUME

OF THE

History of Modern Europe.

PART I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS, to the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

LETTER XLII.

England, from the Death of Edward III. to the Accession of Henry V. with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland during that Period.

A. D.		Page
1377	ACCESSION of Richard II. son of the Black Prince	1
1380	Discontents of the common people -	2
1381	Insurrection of Watt Tyler - -	3
	Suppressed by the address of the young king -	4
1385	Fruitless expedition of Richard into Scotland	ibid.
	He resigns himself to the direction of Robert de Vere, a worthless favourite - - -	5
	A civil war - - - - -	ibid.
1388	The King obliged to resign the government -	ibid.
1389	He recovers his authority - -	6
	Addicted to low pleasures - -	ibid.
1397	Intrigues and murder of the Duke of Gloucester	ibid.
1398	Unpopular conduct of Richard II. -	7
1399	Henry, Duke of Lancaster, who had been banished, lands in England, and is joined by many disaffected noblemen	8
	Richard, deserted by his army, is deposed and murdered, and the Duke of Lancaster is declared King, under the name of Henry IV. - - -	9

LETTER XLIV.

France, from the Death of Charles V. in 1380, to the Invasion of that Kingdom by Henry V. of England, in 1415.

A. D.		Page
1380	Distracted state of France during the minority of Cha. VI.	27
1388	He assumes the reins of government, but falls into a fit of phrenzy - - -	28
	Singular circumstances accompanying his insanity	29
	Corrupt state of the French court -	ibid.
1407	Assassination of the Duke of Orleans -	30
	The whole kingdom agitated with intestine commotions, and divided by two furious factions -	31
	Civil war between the Burgundians and Armagnacs	32
1415	Henry V. of England resolves to take advantage of these disorders - - - -	33

LETTER XLV.

England and France, from the Invasion of the latter Kingdom by Henry V. to the Death of Charles VI.

	Dissipated character of Henry V. while Prince of Wales	ib.
1413	His change of conduct on ascending the throne	34
	He endeavours to banish all party distinctions	ibid.
1415	Suppresses an insurrection of the Lollards -	35
	Invades France - - -	36
	Distress of his army - -	37
	Battle of Agincourt - -	ibid.
	The French defeated with great slaughter -	38
	Henry V. returns to England - -	39
	Wretched state of France - -	ibid.
1417	The Count of Armagnac and many other persons of distinction murdered - - -	40
1418	The King of England lands in Normandy, and carries every thing before him - -	ibid.
1419	He negociates with both the French parties	ibid.
1420	Concludes with the Queen and the Duke of Burgundy the famous treaty of Troye, by which the succession to the crown of France was secured to the King of England	41
	Marries the Princess Catherine -	ibid.
1421	She brings him a son - -	ibid.
1422	Death of Henry V. - -	42
	—— of Charles VI. of France -	ibid.
	Coronation of his son Charles VII. -	43

CONTENTS.

LETTER XLVI.

The Affairs of France and England continued, from the Accession of Charles VII. to the Expulsion of the English from their Continental Territories.

A. D. Page

1422 Comparative ſtate of France and England at the death of Henry V. - - - 43

Duke of Bedford regent during the minority of Henry VI. ib.

Amiable character of Charles VII. - 44

1423 Prudent meaſures of the Duke of Bedford - ibid.

1424 He defeats the French and Scots in the battle of Verneuil 45

1428 Undertakes the ſiege of Orleans - 46

Deſperate ſtate of the affairs of Charles VII. ibid.

1429 He is rouſed to action by his queen and his miſtreſs ibid.

Account of the *Maid of Orleans* - 47

She is introduced to the king - - 48

Enters Orleans at the head of a convoy - 49

Charles VII. marches to Rheims, where he is ſolemnly crowned and anointed at the requeſt of the Maid ibid.

Recovers many places - - 50

1430 The Duke of Bedford brings over the young king of England, Henry VI. who is crowned and anointed at Paris, as king of France - - - ibid.

1431 The Maid is taken priſoner, and condemned to be burnt for ſorcery and magic - - - 51

1435 Death of the Duke of Bedford, and the utter ruin of the Engliſh affairs on the continent - ibid.

Feeble character of Henry VI. - - ibid.

1443 He is married to Margaret of Anjou - 52

1447 Murder of the Duke of Glouceſter - 53

Flouriſhing ſtate of France, under Charles VII. ibid.

1453 The Engliſh expelled from all their poſſeſſions on the continent, except Calais - - ibid.

LETTER XLVII.

The German Empire and its Dependencies, Rome and the Italian States, from the Death of Sigiſmund to the Acceſſion of Maximilian.

1438 Short reign of Albert II. - - 54

1439 He is ſucceeded in the imperial throne by Frederick III. ib.

1440 Frederick appears in the council of Baſil - 55

1451 Viſits Italy - - - 56

1452 Is there crowned King of Lombardy - 57

Troubles in Hungary and Bohemia - 58

Progreſs

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1452	Progress of the Turks	58
1456	John Hunniades obliges Mahomet II. to raise the siege of Belgrade	59
1493	Death of Frederick III.	60
	He is succeeded in the imperial throne by his son Maximilian, who had married the heiress of Burgundy and the Low Countries	ibid.

LETTER XLVIII.

England, during the Contest between the Houses of York and Lancaster, and until its final Extinction in the Accession of the House of Tudor.

1450	Richard, Duke of York, sets up a claim to the English crown	61
1455	Henry VI. obliged to resign the administration of government into the hands of his rival	63
1458	A civil war	ibid.
1459	The Duke of York is deserted by his troops, and flies into Ireland	64
1460	The Earl of Warwick defeats the royal army at Northampton, and makes the King prisoner	ibid.
	The Duke of York returns from Ireland, and supports his claim to the English crown	ibid.
	He is acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy by the parliament	65
	Is killed in the battle of Wakefield, (Dec. 24.)	66
1461	His son Edward enters London, and assumes the title of King	67
	Character of Edward IV.	ibid.
	Henry VI. and Queen Margaret, after several bloody battles, forced to take refuge in Scotland	68
	State of that kingdom	69
1464	Queen Margaret and the Scots defeated at Hexham	70
	Her singular escape	ibid.
1465	King Henry made prisoner, and confined in the Tower	ibid.
	Gallantries of Edward IV.	71
	He marries Lady Elizabeth Gray	ibid.
	Rebellion of the Earl of Warwick	72
1470	He associates himself with the Lancastrians	ibid.
	Edward IV. abandoned by his army, takes refuge in Holland	73
1471	He returns, and totally defeats the Lancastrians at Barnet, where Warwick is slain	74
	Death of Henry VI.	75
1475	Edward IV. invades France	ibid.
	Concludes a truce with Lewis XI.	76
	Atrocious character of Richard, Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother	78
1483	He is appointed Regent and Protector on the death of Edward	ibid.

 Orders

A. D. Page

Orders lord Hastings and many other persons of distinction to be executed without any form of trial - 79
Persecutes Jane Shore, the late king's mistress ibid.
Gets his brother's children, Edward V. and the duke of York, murdered, and usurps the crown under the name of Richard III. - - 82
Henry earl of Richmond, disputes the kingdom with him 83
1485 Richard defeated, and slain in the battle of Bosworth 86
The earl of Richmond proclaimed king, under the name of Henry VII. - - ibid.

LETTER XLIX.

France, from the Expulsion of the English by Charles VII. to the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494.

1453 Wise regulations of Charles VII. - 87
He establishes a standing army - ibid.
1461 His death - - 88
His son, Lewis XI. seeks to depress the power of the nobles ib.
1465 They rebel against him - - ibid.
He quiets them by a treacherous negociation ibid.
Corrupts the national assemblies - ibid.
1467 Made prisoner by Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy 90
Obtains his liberty on humiliating conditions ibid.
The subsequent part of his reign a continued scene of tyranny and cruelty - - ibid.
He greatly enlarges the French monarchy, and exalts the power of the crown - - 91
1483 His horror at the approach of death - 92
The means which he employed to divert his melancholy and prolong life - - - 93
A description of the various instruments of his cruelty ibid.
His complicated character - ibid.
1491 Charles VIII. his son, unites Britanny to the kingdom of France, by marrying the heiress of that duchy 96
1492 Henry VII. of England invades France - 97
He is induced to withdraw his forces by the pecuniary stipulations in the treaty of Estaples - ibid.
1494 Charles VIII. prepares for the invasion of Italy ibid.

LETTER L.

The Progress of the Turks, and the Fall of the Greek Empire.

Abject superstition of the Greeks - 98
1370 John Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, concludes a shameful treaty with the Turkish Sultan, Amurath 99
Amurath establishes the body of Janizaries - ibid.
Vanquishes the Christians, but is slain, in the battle of Cassovia - - - 10[illegible]

Succeeded

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
1389	Succeeded by his son Bajazet -	100
1396	Bajazet defeats the Christians at Nicopolis, upon the Danube - -	101
	Manuel Paleologus, Emperor of Constantinople, purchases a peace by mean submissions -	ibid.
1401	The Turks invest Constantinople -	ibid.
	The siege raised, in consequence of the irruption of the Mogul Tartars, under Tamerlane -	ibid.
1402	Tamerlane defeats Bajazet in the battle of Angora, and takes him prisoner - -	102
	He becomes master of Prusa, the seat of the Turkish emperors; but soon after abandons that city, and all his conquests in Asia Minor - -	ibid.
	Wretched state of the Greek Empire -	103
1421	Amurath II. invests Constantinople -	ibid.
	Raises the siege to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha - -	ibid.
1444	Is defeated by John Hunniades, Vaivode of Transilvania - - -	104
	Concludes a truce of ten years with the Christians, and resigns the sceptre to his son Mahomet II. -	ibid.
	The Christians break the truce -	ibid.
	Are vanquished by the Turks in a great battle near Varna, in Moldavia (Nov. 10.) -	105
	Account of George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg	ibid.
	He rescues Albania, his native country, from the Turkish yoke - -	106
	Character of Mahomet II.	ibid.
1452	He forms the design of making himself master of Constantinople - - -	107
1453	Invests that city both by sea and land -	ibid.
	Particulars of the siege - -	108
	Constantinople is taken, and the Greek Empire, or Roman Empire in the East, utterly subverted -	ibid.
	Farther conquests of Mahomet II. -	ibid.
	His death - -	109

LETTER LI.

Spain, from the Death of Peter the Cruel, in 1369, till the Conquest of Granada, by Ferdinand and Isabella, in 1492.

	Debaucheries of Henry IV. of Castile -	ibid.
1464	He is deposed with great solemnity at Avila	110
	A furious civil war -	111
1464	The Infanta Isabella married to Ferdinand, prince of Arragon - -	ibid.
	The civil war continues -	ibid.
1479	Accession of Ferdinand and Isabella -	ibid.
	Their maxims of policy -	112

They

A. D. Page

They endeavour to annihilate the territorial jurisdiction of the nobles - - 113
1480 Establish the Court of Inquisition - 114
1483 Undertake the conquest of Granada - ibid.
1492 Accomplish their enterprise, and terminate the dominion of the Moors in Spain - - 115
Expulsion of the Jews - - ibid.
The Infanta Joan, daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, married to Philip, Archduke of Austria, and Sovereign of the Netherlands - - ibid.

LETTER LII.

England, during the Reign of Henry VII.

1485 Henry VII. by marrying Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. unites the claims of the houses of York and Lancaster - - 116
He retains an antipathy against the partizans of the house of York - - ibid.
Insurrections in consequence of this prejudice 117
Account of the impostor, Lambert Simnel - 118
1486 He assumes the character of Edward Plantagenet, Earl of Warwick, son of the duke of Clarence - ibid.
Excites an insurrection in Ireland - 119
1487 Is joined by the earl of Lincoln at the head of two thousand men - - 120
Lands in England - ibid.
Is defeated and made prisoner - 121
Henry turns his eyes toward the affairs on the continent ibid.
1492 Invades France - - 122
Concludes, at Estaples, an advantageous treaty with Lewis XI. - - 123
Story of Perkin Warbeck, a new impostor, who assume the character of Richard duke of York, son of Edward IV. - - 124
1493 Perkin is supported by the Duchess of Burgundy 125
She honours him with the appellation of the *White Rose of England* - - ibid.
Henry obtains the secrets of Perkin, and arrests his adherents - - 126
Execution of Lord Stanley - 127
Perkin seeks refuge, alternately, in Ireland and Scotland - - - ibid.
Lands in Cornwall, and takes the title of Richard IV. 129
1498 Despairing of success, he delivers himself into the king's hands, on a promise of pardon - ibid.
1499 Committed to the Tower, and hanged for a conspiracy against the life of the lieutenant - - 130
1502 Henry, prince of Wales, married to Catherine of Arragon, his brother's widow - - ibid.

Vigorous

A. D. Page
Vigorous, but oppressive administration of Henry VII. 132
His death and character - - 133
He repressed the exorbitant power of the barons, by diminishing the number of their retainers - ibid.

LETTER LIII.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, from the Invasion of Italy by Charles VIII. in 1494, till the League of Cambray, in 1508.

1494 State of Italy at the invasion of Charles VIII. 134
He over-runs the whole country, and makes himself master of Rome - - 135
Story of Zizim, brother to the Turkish emperor, Bajazet II. 136
He is delivered into the hands of the French monarch by Pope Alexander VI. - - 137
Charles VIII. conquers the kingdom of Naples ibid.
1495 The Italian States, the Emperor Maximilian, and their Catholic Majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, league against him 138
1496 He is driven out of Italy, and stript of all his conquests 139
1498 His death and character - - ibid.
Charles is succeeded in the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII. ibid.
Generous spirit of Lewis - - ibid.
He proposes to invade Italy - - 166
Infamous character and debauched manners of Pope Alexander VI. and his court - - 140
He dissolves the marriage of Lewis XII. with Joan, daughter of Lewis XI. - - 141
Lewis marries Anne of Britanny, the Queen Dowager 142
1499 Invades Italy, and conquers the duchy of Milan 143
1501 Makes himself also master of the kingdom of Naples 144
But is expelled by the arms and intrigues of Gonsalvo de Cordova, general of the king of Spain - ibid.
Farther Account of Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia ib.
1504 Lewis XII. makes an unsuccessful attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples - - 145
1506 Marries his eldest daughter to the count of Angouleme, first prince of the blood - - 146

LETTER LIV.

Europe, from the League of Cambray to the Death of Lewis XII.

1508 Julius II. an able and ambitious pontiff, forms the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy, and of humbling the republic of Venice - - 147
Policy and power of that republic - ibid.
It becomes an object of terror to the other Italian states ib.

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

The league of Cambray formed against it . 149

1509 Depressed condition of the Venetians - ibid.

The Pope, having accomplished one part of his plan, sows dissensions among the confederates - 150

1510 The league of Cambray dissolved ibid.

The Venetians recover from their consternation ibid.

1511 Henry VIII. of England agrees to send an army to invade France at the solicitation of Ferdinand king of Spain, his father-in-law - - 152

1512 Lewis XII. in consequence of this threatened invasion, withdraws part of his forces from Italy - 153

Ferdinand conquers the kingdom of Navarre ibid.

Battle of Ravenna, and death of the gallant Gaston de Foix ib.

The French driven out of Italy - ibid.

1513 Death of Julius II. and the elevation of Leo X. 154

The king of England invades France - 155

Is joined by the Emperor Maximilian, who condescends to act under him - - ibid.

French routed at Guinegate - ibid.

The English make themselves masters of Terouane and Tournay - - ibid.

Perilous situation of Lewis XII. - ibid.

The Scots invade England - 157

Defeated in the field of Flouden, where James IV. and the flower of his nobility are slain (Sept. 9.) ibid.

General pacification among the European powers 158

Death of Lewis XII. - - ibid.

1515 His amiable character - ibid.

His humanity, generosity, and indulgence to his subjects, obtained him the appellation of *Father of his People* 159

LETTER LV.

The general View of Europe continued, from the Accession of Francis I. in 1515, to the Death of the Emperor Maximilian, in 1519; including the Rise of the Reformation in Germany.

Lewis XII. succeeded by the count of Angouleme, his son-in-law, under the name of Francis I. 159

Francis projects the recovery of the duchy of Milan ibid.

Is opposed by the Swiss - 160

Battle of Marignan (Sept. 12.) ibid.

The Swiss defeated with great slaughter ibid.

City of Milan surrenders, and the whole duchy submits to the French monarch - ibid.

1516 Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, King of Spain 161

Succeeded by his grandson Charles, heir to the archduke Philip, late sovereign of the Low Countries ibid.

Vigorous administration of Cardinal Ximenes, Regent of Spain - - 162

His

A. D. Page
1517 His unhappy fate - - 163
Charles assumes the reins of government in Spain ibid.
1518 Diet of Augsburg, and the rise of the reformation in Germany - - 164
Corruptions of the Romish church - ibid.
The Pope assumes the right of pardoning sins ibid.
Nature of plenary indulgencies ibid.
Mistake of Mr. Hume, in regard to them - 165
Leo X. publishes a general sale of indulgences, or liberty to commit crimes without being amenable to divine justice 166
Abuse of this spiritual traffic in Germany 167
Martin Luther, professor of theology in the university of Wittemberg, declares against the sale of indulgences, and other abuses of the Romish church - ibid.
Leo summons him to answer for his doctrines at Rome ibid.
That citation revoked at the intercession of the elector of Saxony - - ibid.
Luther appears in the diet at Augsburg 168
Denied a hearing by Cardinal Cajetan - ibid.
Retires, and continues to propagate his new opinions ibid.
1519 Death of the emperor Maximilian I. - ibid.

LETTER LVI.

Progress of Society in Europe, from the Beginning of the Fourteenth, to the middle of the Sixteenth Century, with a retrospective View of the Revival of Letters.

Recapitulation of the progress of Society in regard to trade and industry - - - 170
The command of national force, civil government, and political power - - ibid.
Splendour of the Italian cities - 171
They invent new arts - ibid.
Introduce into Europe the culture of silk, and of other productions of Asia - - ibid.
Flanders famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloth - - ibid.
Its great trade - - 172
Painting and architecture revive in Italy and the Low Countries - - ibid.
Reflections on learning and politeness - 173
The Revival of Letters, and its remote causes ibid.
Erection of schools under lay preceptors - 174
A more liberal mode of thinking introduced 175
Effects of the invention of paper, and of the art of printing 176
Influence of women upon manners - ibid.
Their high sense of honour during the times of chivalry ibid.
They inspire the men with the most exalted courage ibid.
Origin of the heroic romance - 177

It

A. D.		Page
	It has its rise among the Troubadours of Provence	178
	Its character	ibid.
	Allegorical tale, and Italian epic	179
	Character of Dante, the father of Italian poetry	ibid.
	——— of Petrarch	180
	——— of Boccacio	181
	He is imitated by Chaucer	ibid.
	Splendour of the court of Edward III. of England	184
	Chaucer its brightest ornament	ibid.
	His character as a poet	ibid.
	State of poetry in France	ibid.
	Rapid progress of genius in Italy	185
	Character of the *Orlando* of Ariosto	ibid.
	——— of the *Jerusalem* of Tasso	ibid.
	Reflections on the revival of theatrical representation	186
	——— on music	ibid.
	——— on historical composition	187
	Character of Machiavel, and Guicciardini	ibid.
	Flourishing state of Italy in the sixteenth century	ibid.

LETTER LVII.

Progress of Navigation, and particularly among the Portuguese. A short Introduction to the History of Portugal. The Discoveries and Settlements of the Portuguese on the Coast of Africa, and in the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope. The Discovery of America by the Spaniards; the Settlement of the West Indies; and the Conquest of Mexico and Peru; together with some Reflections on the moral and political Consequences of those great Events.

A. D.		Page
	View of the state of Commerce and Navigation in Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century	188
	Rise of the kingdom of Portugal	189
1385	Accession of John I. surnamed the Bastard	190
1414	He takes Ceuta from the Moors	ibid.
	Enlightened genius of his son, Don Henry	ibid.
1420	Discovery of the island of Madeira by the Portuguese	191
1434	——— of the river Zara, and the kingdom of Congo	ibid.
1486	——— of the Cape of Good Hope	ibid.
1497	Voyage of Vasco de Gama	ibid.
1498	He arrives in the East Indies	192
	State of commerce in the East	ibid.
1499	Gama encounters many dangers, and returns to Lisbon	ibid.
1500	Voyage of Alvarez de Cabral	193
1501	The Portuguese establish themselves by force of arms on the coast of Malabar	194
1508	They monopolize the trade of the East Indies	ibid.
1509	Their conquests there under Albuquerque	195

CONTENTS.

A. D. Page

1511 He makes himſelf maſter of Goa and Malacca 196

1515 Of Ormus in the Perſian Gulf - 197

His death and character - 198

Chriſtopher Columbus, a Genoeſe navigator, projects the diſcovery of a new continent toward the Weſt ibid.

His propoſals long treated with neglect ibid.

1492 Patronized by Iſabella, queen of Spain, and ſails from the port of Palos in Andaluſia - 199

Diſcovers the Archipelago of America, to which he gives the name of the Weſt Indies - 200

Character of the natives of Hiſpaniola, where Columbus planted a colony - - 201

1493 He returns to Spain, where he is treated with great reſpect - - ibid.

Makes another voyage with little ſucceſs - 202

1498 In a third voyage diſcovers the continent of America 203

1499 Voyage of Americus Veſpucius - - ibid.

He gives his own name to the New World, in prejudice of the prior right of Columbus - ibid.

Misfortunes and injuries of Columbus - 204

1506 His death and character - 205

Cruelty of the Spaniards in the Weſt Indies ibid.

1518 Diſcovery of the empire of Mexico - ibid.

1519 Invaded by Cortes, the Spaniſh general, with only five hundred men - - 206

Circumſtances favourable to his enterpriſe ibid.

He receives an embaſſy from the emperor Montezuma 207

Negotiates with the tributary princes and ſtates ibid.

Defeats the Tlaſcalans, and enters into treaty with them 208

Admitted by Montezuma into the city of Mexico ibid.

Makes the emperor priſoner in his own capital ibid.

1520 A Spaniſh army ſent againſt him by the governor of Cuba ib.

He defeats his rival - ibid.

The Mexicans revolt in his abſence - 209

Their deſperate valour - - ibid.

Death of Montezuma - - - 210

Cortes obliged to abandon the city of Mexico ibid.

The Mexicans purſue him, and are totally defeated in the battle of Otumba - - ibid.

1521 Final ſubjection of the Mexican empire - 211

Doubts concerning the civilization of the Mexicans ibid.

Their bloody ſuperſtition - ibid.

1532 A Spaniſh adventurer, named Pizarro, undertakes the conqueſt of Peru, another great empire in America 212

State of that empire - - ibid.

Treachery and cruelty of the Spaniards 213

1533 Conqueſt of Peru, and the murder of the Inca, Atahualpa ib.

Inquiry "How far the diſcoveries of the Portugueſe and Spaniards have been advantageous to Europe, or beneficial to "mankind?" - - - ibid.

The

A. D. Page

The East India trade drains Europe of its bullion and specie 215
The Mines of Mexico and Peru necessary to supply that drain - - - - ibid.
The discovery of America has increased the labour of Europe, and the number of the civilized part of the human species ib.
The violent settlement of the European colonies in the New World to be lamented - - ibid.

LETTER LVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of Europe from the Election of Charles V. in 1519, till the Peace of Cambray, in 1529, including the Progress of the Reformation.

State of Germany at the death of the emperor Maximilian 216
Threatening posture of the Turks - ibid.
Extensive dominions of the archduke Charles, king of Spain and sovereign of the Netherlands - 217
High reputation and great power of Francis I. ibid.
He and Charles candidates for the imperial crown ibid.
Their respective pretensions - - ibid.
Charles elected Emperor - - 218
Chagrin of Francis - - 219
Their emulation and interfering claims - ibid.
Henry VIII. courted by both, as the next prince of the age in power and dignity - - ibid.
His character, and that of his minister Cardinal Wolsey ibid.
1520 The Emperor, Charles V. artfully pays a visit to the King of England, in his way from Spain to the Netherlands 220
Splendid interview between Henry and Francis near Guisnes 221
Charles crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle - 222
Orders a diet to be held at Worms for the condemnation of the reformed opinions - - ibid.
Progress of Luther in Germany - 223
Of Zuinglius in Switzerland - 224
1521 Luther summoned to attend the diet of Worms ibid.
His wonderful popularity there - - 225
His firmness in maintaining his doctrines - ibid.
Is permitted to depart, in consequence of the Emperor's safe conduct - - - ibid.
Propagates his opinions in solitude, though at the hazard of his life - - - 226
Disturbances in Spain - - ibid.
Hostilities begun between Charles and Francis ibid.
The Pope, the Emperor, and the King of England enter into a league against France - 227
Rapid progress of the imperial arms in Italy ibid.
1522 The French stript of all their territories there ibid.
An English army invades France without effect ibid.
The tumults in Spain quelled - 229

A. D. Page
Solyman II. Emperor of the Turks, makes himself master of the island of Rhodes, the seat of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem - - - 230
Perilous state of Francis I. - - 231
1523 He determines to lead a strong army into Italy ibid.
Conspiracy of the constable Bourbon - 232
He escapes, and enters into the imperial service 233
Thwarts the designs of Francis in Italy - ibid.
1524 French defeated in the battle of Biagrassa ibid.
Death of the Chevalier Bayard - - ibid.
Francis, successful on his own frontiers, marches into Italy, and lays siege to Pavia (Oct. 28.) - 234
1525 Battle of Pavia (Feb. 24.) - - 235
French army routed with great slaughter, and the king himself made prisoner, by the Imperialists, under Bourbon and Pascara - - - 236
Prudent conduct of Louisa, Francis's mother 237
Henry VIII. becomes anxious for the liberties of Europe ib.
He interposes in favour of the French monarch 238
Behaviour of Francis in confinement - ibid.
1526 He signs the treaty of Madrid, in consequence of which he obtains his liberty - - ibid.
Evades the execution of that treaty - 239
Clement VII. forms a powerful league against the Emperor ib.
1527 The city of Rome taken and plundered by the Imperalists under Bourbon, who is slain - - 240
The Pope is made prisoner - - 241
Horrid circumstances with which the sacking of Rome was accompanied - - - ibid.
Charles V. though highly pleased with the success of his arms, affects the deepest sorrow on the occasion - ibid.
1528 The French again invade Italy, and lose another army 242
1529 The Turks threaten Germany - ibid.
Peace of Cambray - - ibid.
The Italian states abandoned to the will of the Emperor 243
His lenity - - - ibid.

LETTER LIX.

The general View of the Affairs of Europe, and of the Progress of the Reformation on the Continent, continued from the Peace of Cambray to that of Crespy, in 1544.

Almost one half of the Germanic body had embraced the opinions of Luther, during the contest between the Emperor and the Pope - - - 244
1529 Charles V. summons a diet at Spire, to take into consideration the state of religion - - ibid.
The diet issues a decree, confirming the edict of Worms against Luther, and prohibiting the abolition of the mass ibid.
Several princes and imperial cities protest against this decree 245

A.D. Page
Hence they were called PROTESTANTS: an appellation become common to all the Christian sects, who have since separated themselves from the church of Rome - 245
1530 *The Confession of Augsburg*, or system of protestant opinions ib.
1531 The league of Smalkalde - - ibid.
1532 The Protestants obtain liberty of conscience 246
1533 The Emperor Charles V. takes the field against the Turks, and obliges Solyman II. to retire - ibid.
He visits Spain - - - ibid.
Great disorders in Germany during his absence, occasioned by a fanatical sect named Anabaptists - 247
Their absurd tenets and licentious conduct ibid.
1534 They form a kind of sensual republic at Munster ibid.
John of Leyden, their apostle, assumes the title of King 248
1535 Munster taken by surprize, and most of the Anabaptists slain ib.
John of Leyden, being made prisoner, suffers death with the firmness of a martyr - ibid.
Charles V. solicited to undertake an expedition against the piratical states on the coast of Africa - 249
Account of those states, and of the famous corsair, Barbarossa - - - - ibid.
The Emperor sets sail for Tunis with a formidable armament - - - - 250
Takes the Goletta, or key of the harbour, by storm; defeats Barbarossa in the field; makes himself master of Tunis, and procures liberty to twenty thousand Christian slaves ibid.
The King of France, during the absence of Charles, revives his claims in Italy - - ibid.
Persecutes the Protestants, in order to shew his zeal for the ancient faith - - 250
He walks in procession before the host through the city of Paris - - 251
Invades the dominions of the Duke of Savoy - 252
Death of Sforza, Duke of Milan - ibid.
The Emperor seizes on that duchy - 253
Francis I. claims it - - ibid.
1536 War between them renewed - ibid.
Charles invades France - - 254
Admirable plan of defence adopted by the King - ibid.
The Emperor obliged to retreat, after having lost one half of his army, without making himself master of one important place - - 255
1537 Indecent display of the resentment of Francis - 256
A suspension of arms takes place between the hostile rivals 257
Barbarossa ravages the coast of Italy - ibid.
The Turks invade Hungary, and defeat the Germans at Essek on the Drave - ibid.
Truce between the Emperor and the King of France concluded at Nice - - ibid.

Francis

A. D. Page
Francis visits Charles on board his galley off the coast of Provence - - - 258
Charles returns his visit on shore - ibid.
Assassination of Lorenzo of Medicis - ibid.
The Emperor's troops mutiny for want of pay 259
1539 The Cortes of Castile, assembled at Toledo, refuse to grant him the supplies demanded - ibid.
He dismisses them with indignation, and subverts the ancient constitution of that national assembly - 260
The citizens of Ghent break out into open rebellion, on account of an unconstitutional tax - ibid.
They offer their sovereignty to Francis I. who rejects it, and betrays them to Charles - 261
1540 The Emperor punishes them with awful severity, and strips their city of its ancient privileges - 262
He incenses Francis, by finally denying him the investiture of the duchy of Milan - - ibid.
1541 Assists at a conference of Protestant and Popish Divines 263
Rapid progress of the Turks in Hungary - 264
Great revolution in that kingdom - ibid.
It becomes a province of the Ottoman empire 265
Charles V. undertakes an expedition against Algiers ibid.
Account of that pyratical state - ibid.
The Emperor lands on the coast of Africa - ibid.
His fleet dispersed by a violent storm, and his army obliged to reimbark in the greatest distress - 266
His fortitude under all his disasters - ibid.
The utter failure of his enterprise encourages the King of France to commence hostilities against him 267
Charles secures the fidelity of the Protestant Princes by new concessions, and gains the alliance of Henry VIII. of England ib.
1542 Vast and speedy military preparations of Francis I. 268
1543 He is assisted by a Turkish fleet, under Barbarossa ibid.
1544 The Imperialists defeated in the battle of Cerisoles ibid.
Peace between Charles and Francis concluded at Crespy ib.
The emperor's motives for acceding to that treaty 269
1545 Hostilities continued between France and England ibid.
1546 Henry and Francis negociate a peace at Cercamp ibid.

LETTER LX.

The domestic History of England during the Reign of Henry VIII. with some Account of the Affairs of Scotland and of the Rise of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.

1509 Fortunate situation of Henry VIII. at his accession 270
His mental and personal qualities - ibid.
He grants a warrant for the execution of Empson and Dudley, two instruments of his father's rapacity - 271
Consummates his marriage with the Infanta Catharine, his brother's widow - - ibid.

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
	Absolute ascendancy of Wolsey over the King	271
1521	Execution of the duke of Buckingham	272
1527	Henry resolves to divorce Queen Catharine	ibid.
	Character of Anne Boleyn	273
	She captivates the King's heart	ibid.
1529	The Pope opposes the dissolution of Henry's marriage	274
	The principal universities in Europe consulted on the subject, by the advice of Dr. Thomas Cranmer	276
1530	Fall and death of Wolsey	ibid.
1532	Cranmer, become Archbishop of Canterbury, dissolves the King's marriage with Catharine	277
	He espouses Anne Boleyn	ibid.
1533	Final rupture between Henry and the see of Rome	278
1534	He is declared, by the Parliament, "The *only supreme* HEAD "of the Church of England *upon Earth!*"	ibid.
	Consequences of this declaration	ibid.
	Dogmatical and tyrannical disposition of Henry VIII.	279
1535	Execution of Sir Thomas More, for refusing to acknowledge the King's supremacy	ibid.
1536	Dissolution of the lesser monasteries	280
	Decay of Henry's affections for his Queen, Anne Boleyn	281
	Her trial and execution	ibid.
	The King marries Jane Seymour	ibid.
	The Duke of Norfolk suppresses a rebellion in Lincolnshire, raised by the expelled monks	283
1537	The Queen delivered of a son	ibid.
	Her death	ibid.
	Impostures of the Romish clergy	ibid.
1538	Suppression of the monasteries all over England	284
1539	The law of the Six Articles	285
1540	Henry VIII. marries Anne of Cleves	ibid.
	Execution of Lord Cromwell	286
	The King's marriage dissolved by the Convocation	287
	He espouses Catharine Howard, niece to the Duke of Norfolk	ibid.
	Persecutes the Protestants	ibid.
1541	Discovers that his Queen had been incontinent before marriage	ibid.
1542	Brings her to the block, and passes a very singular law	288
	Makes war against his nephew, James V. of Scotland	ibid.
	Disasters and death of James	290
	Henry forms a project for uniting the crowns of England and Scotland	ibid.
1543	Marries Catherine Par, widow of Lord Latimer	291
1546	Example of her address in soothing his violent temper	292
	He cruelly persecutes all who differ from him in religious opinions	ibid.
	Execution of the Earl of Surrey	ibid.
1547	Death of Henry VIII.	293
	Reflections on his tyrannical administration	294

He

A. D. Page
He makes the Parliament the instrument of his despotism 294
Danger of such policy to the British constitution 295

LETTER LXI.

A general View of the Continent of Europe, including the Progress of the Reformation in Germany, from the first Meeting of the Council of Trent, in 1546, to the Peace of Religion concluded at Passau, in 1552.

1546 The Emperor Charles V. conludes a peace with Solyman II. 296
He enters into an alliance with Pope Paul III. for the extirpation of heresy - - ibid.
The Protestants refuse to acknowledge the legality of the Council of Trent - ibid.
The Emperor resolves to compel their obedience, but endeavours to conceal his purpose in taking arms 297
Death of Luther - - ibid.
State of Germany - - ibid.
The Protestants assemble a great army - 298
They imprudently negociate, instead of fighting ibid.
Are deserted by Maurice, Marquis of Misnia 299
His profound dissimulation - - ibid.
He invades the electorate of Saxony - ibid.
The Elector separates himself from the confederates, in order to preserve his hereditary dominions - 300
1547 All the members of the league of Smalkalde submit to the Emperor, except the Landgrave of Hesse - ibid.
Paul III. become jealous of the power of Charles V. raises up new enemies against him - - 301
Death of Francis I. and accession of his son Henry II. 302
The Emperor defeats the forces of John Frederick, Elector of Saxony, and makes him prisoner - ibid.
Dignified behaviour of that prince - ibid.
Heroic conduct of his wife Sybilla - 303
In compliance with the entreaties of his family, he submits to humiliating conditions - 304
The Electorate of Saxony bestowed upon Maurice 305
Cruel treatment of the Landgrave of Hesse - ibid.
Charles V. governs Germany with absolute sway - 306
He summons a diet at Augsburg, "finally to compose the "controversies in regard to religion." ibid.
1548 Protests against the translation of the General Council from Trent to Bologna - - 307
Publishes a temporary system of doctrine and worship, under the name of the *Interim* - 308
It pleases neither Protestants nor Papists - 309
Manly firmness of the deposed Elector of Saxony - ibid.
Discontents of the Sacred College at the publication of the Interim - - - 310

A.D. Page

Enmity betweeen the Pope and the Emperor - 311
Rapacity of Charles - - ibid.
1549 Death of Paul III. - - 312
Affecting circumstances with which it was accompanied ibid.
Character of the new Pontiff, Julius III. 313
1550 He orders the General Council to re-assemble at Trent 314
The Emperor refuses to set the Landgrave of Hesse at Liberty - - ibid.
Singular act of his despotism - ibid.
1551 Fails in an attempt to get his son Philip declared King of the Romans - - 316
He turns all his attention to the establishment of uniformity of religion in the empire - ibid.
War of Parma - - 317
Proceedings of the Council of Trent - ibid.
The German Protestants prohibited from teaching any doctrine contrary to its decrees - - 318
Maurice, Elector of Saxony, resolves to oppose the civil and religious despotism of the Emperor - ibid.
Charles entertains no apprehensions of his designs ibid.
A new revolution in Hungary - 320
Ferdinand King of the Romans, the Emperor's Brother, obtains that crown, through the intrigues of Martinuzzi, Bishop of Waradin - - ibid.
Cruelly orders Martinuzzi to be assassinated - 321
Maurice concludes an alliance with Henry II. of France 322
1552 He demands in vain the liberty of the Landgrave ibid.
The Emperor remains in delusive security - ibid.
Maurice and his Protestant Confederates take the field 323
The King of France at the same time takes arms, and makes himself master of Metz, Toul, and Verdun 324
The Emperor has recourse to negociation ibid.
Maurice attempts to surprise him at Inspruck ibid.
He escapes over the Alps in a litter - ibid.
Maurice negociates with the King of the Romans 325
The Peace of Religion concluded at Passau 326
The Protestant worship in Germany established on a firm basis - - 327

LETTER LXII.

England, from the Death of Henry VIII. until the Accession of Elizabeth, in 1558, together with an Account of the Affairs of Scotland during that Period, and of the Progress of Religion in both the British Kingdoms.

1547 Henry VIII. succeeded by his son, Edward VI. only nine years of age - - 328
The Duke of Somerset, the young King's uncle, chosen Protector during his minority - 329

A. D. Page
Somerset is warmly attached to the cause of the Reformation - - - - 329
Assisted by the counsels of Archbishop Cranmer, he plans the establishment of the Church of England, as now constituted ibid.
He prepares for a war with Scotland - 330
State of religion in that kingdom - ibid.
Scottish Reformers persecuted - 331
Murder of Cardinal Beatoun - ibid.
Somerset enters Scotland at the head of an English army 332
The Scots defeated with great slaughter in the battle of Pinkey 333
They imprudently throw themselves into the arms of France, and send Mary, their young Queen, to be educated in that kingdom, where she is married to the Dauphin, afterward Francis II. - - ibid.
1548 Somerset obliged to return, in order to quell the cabals in the English court - - 334
1549 Execution of his brother, Lord Seymour ibid.
The English Liturgy completed, and established by Act of Parliament - - 335
Insurrections in England, occasioned by the suppression of monasteries - - 336
Somerset offends the Nobility and Gentry, by siding with the people - - ibid.
He is compelled to resign the Protectorship, and committed to the Tower - - ibid.
1550 A Council of Regency appointed under the Earl of Warwick ibid.
Warwick negociates a treaty with France and Scotland 337
1551 Procures for himself the estate of the Northumberland family, and the title of Duke - ibid.
1552 Execution of Somerset - 338
Ambitious projects of the Duke of Northumberland ibid.
He persuades the King to disinherit his sisters - 339
1553 The succession to the Crown settled on Lady Jane Gray, married to Lord Guildford Dudley, Northumberland's fourth son - - 340
Death of Edward VI. - ibid.
Northumberland induces Lady Jane Gray to accept of the Crown - - 341
She is obliged to resign it to the princess Mary - 342
Northumberland tried, and executed for high treason ibid.
Queen Mary takes measures for re-establishing the Popish communion - - ibid.
Account of Cardinal Pole - - 343
The Queen of England desires that he may be sent over in the character of Legate from the Holy See - ibid.
1554 She is married to Philip II. of Spain, son of the Emperor Charles V. - - 344

A.D. Page
Discontents of the people - - 345
Wyat's rebellion - - 346
It is speedily suppressed - - ibid.
Execution of Lord Guildford Dudley, and Lady Jane Gray ib.
Magnanimous behaviour of Lady Jane - 347
The Romish religion restored - ibid.
1555 Furious persecution in England - 348
Martyrdom of Hooper Bishop of Gloucester, and Ferrar Bishop of St. David's - - ibid.
Martyrdom of Ridley, Latimer, and other protestant divines 349
1556 ——— of Archbishop Cranmer - 350
Brutal character of Bishop Bonner - ibid.
1557 War with France - - 352
Loss of Calais - - - ibid.
1558 Death and character of Queen Mary - 353
Account of the princess Elizabeth her sister, who succeeds to the crown - - - 354
1559 Queen Elizabeth, on her accession, re-establishes the Protestant religion in England - - ibid.

LETTER LXIII.

The Continent of Europe, from the Peace of Passau, in 1552, to the Peace of Chateau Cambresis, in 1559.

1552 The emperor Charles V. resolves to attempt the recovery of Metz, Toul, and Verdun - - 355
Henry II. of France commits the defence of Metz to the duke of Guise - - 356
Great military talents of that commander - ibid.
His activity in repairing the fortifications, and taking every other measure for the security of the place ibid.
The emperor invests Metz - - 357
Is obliged to raise the siege - - ibid.
Miserable state of the imperial camp - ibid.
Humanity and generosity of the duke of Guise 358
Decline of the emperor's affairs in Italy ibid.
1553 Germany distracted by the ambition of Albert of Brandenburg - - 359
He is defeated at Siverhausen by Maurice, elector of Saxony ib.
Maurice dies of a wound received in battle - 360
Albert is obliged to take refuge in France - ibid.
Hostilities in the Netherlands, Italy, and Hungary ibid.
Germany enjoys profound tranquillity - 362
1555 Recess of Augsburg - - ibid.
Resignation of Charles V. - - 363
His advice to his son, Philip II. of Spain - 365
He attempts in vain, on retiring, to restore peace to Europe 366
1556 War in Italy and the Low Countries - 367
1557 Arrogance of pope Paul IV. - - ibid.

The

A. D. Page

The French defeated with great slaughter in the battle of St. Quintin - - - 369
Philip II. erects the Escurial in honour of that victory 370
He restores peace to Italy - 371
1558 The duke of Guise takes Thionville - ibid.
Is opposed by the forces of Philip, under the duke of Savoy 372
The French and Spanish monarchs incline to peace ibid.
Account of the emperor Charles V. in his retirement 373
His death and character - - 374
His brother Ferdinand acknowledged emperor of Germany 375
Philip and Henry court the favour of Elizabeth 376
1559 Treaty between Henry and the English queen 377
The negociation between France and Spain forwarded by two treaties of marriage - - ibid.
Peace of Chateau Cambresis - 378
Death of Henry II. and of Paul IV. - ibid.
Close of a memorable period in the history of Modern Europe ib.

LETTER LXIV.

Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, from the Union of those Kingdoms under Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North, to the Death of Gustavus Vasa; together with an Account of the State of Russia, Poland, and Prussia, in the Sixteenth Century.

1397 Union of the three northern crowns established at Calmar, by the states of the three kingdoms - 379
Vigorous administration of Margaret Waldemar ibid.
1520 The Swedes having repeatedly revolted, are finally subdued by Christian II. of Denmark - - 380
Circumstances with which this revolution was accompanied ib.
Horrid massacre of the Swedish nobles - 382
Account of Gustavus Vasa - ibid.
1523 He recovers the independency of Sweden, and is chosen king 383
Christian II. renders himself obnoxious even to the Danish subjects, and is deposed - ibid.
1524 Frederic duke of Holstein chosen king of Denmark and Norway - - 384
1537 The protestant religion introduced into those kingdoms, by his son Christian III. as into Sweden by Gustavus Vasa ibid.
1560 Death and character of Gustavus - ibid.
Introduction to the history of Russia - ibid.
——————————— of Poland - 385
——————————— of Prussia - ibid.

LETTER LXV.

England, Scotland, and France, from the Peace of Chateau Cambresis, in 1559, to the Death of Francis II. and the Return of Mary Queen of Scots to her native Kingdom.

1559 Ambitious views of the duke of Guise and his brothers 387
They usurp the whole administration under Francis II. and induce

A.D. Page

induce their niece, Mary ſtuart, queen of France and of Scotland, to ſet up a claim to the crown of England 387

They obtain a bull from the Pope, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate - - 388

Give orders to their ſiſter, the queen-regent of Scotland, to ſuppreſs the proteſtant opinions in that kingdom ibid.

Meaſures of the Scottiſh reformers - 389

They ſtyle themſelves the *Congregation of the Lord*, and enter into a bond for their common protection - ibid.

Petition the convocation, that prayers may be ſaid in the vulgar tongue - - 390

Their demand rejected, and their moſt eminent teachers cited to appear before the privy-council - ibid.

The members of the congregatton aſſemble in large bodies ib.

The queen promiſes to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt their paſtors - - 391

She breaks her promiſe - - ibid.

The Proteſtants prepare for their defence - ibid.

Account of John Knox - ibid.

He inflames the populace, aſſembled at Perth, by a violent harangue againſt popery - 392

They break all the images in the churches, and deſtroy the monaſteries - - ibid.

The queen-regent collects an army, and the leaders of the Proteſtants prepare for reſiſtance - ibid.

She concludes a treaty with the Congregation - 393

Violates the ſtipulations - - ibid.

The Proteſtants have again recourſe to arms - ibid.

They aim at the redreſs of civil as well as of religious grievances - - 394

The queen-regent refuſes to comply with their demands ibid.

They formally diveſt her of the regency - ibid.

She ſhuts herſelf up in the fortified town of Leith, which was garriſoned with French troops - 395

The Proteſtants, being defeated before that place, implore the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth - - 396

The queen of England, by the advice of her miniſters, reſolves to ſupport the Scottiſh malcontents - ibid.

An Engliſh army enters Scotland, and beſieges Leith, in conjunction with the forces of the Congregation - 397

Death of the queen-regent - - ibid.

View of the progreſs of the Reformation in France 398

Conſpiracy of Amboiſe - - ibid.

The French Proteſtants demand the free exerciſe of their religion - - ibid.

They become formidable to the court - 399

Francis and Mary, by the advice of the duke of Guiſe, conclude with Elizabeth the treaty of Edinburgh ibid.

This treaty favourable to the Congregation ibid.

The French and Engliſh forces evacuate Scotland, and the Proteſtants proceed rapidly in the work of reformation 400

CONTENTS.

A.D. Page

The Presbyterian form of worship established in that kingdom - - 400

Francis and Mary refuse to ratify the proceedings of the Scottish parliament - - ibid.

The Protestants put the statutes in execution, and discharge their rage against popery upon the churches and monasteries - - 401

Death of Francis II. - - 402

1561 Catherine of Medicis appointed guardian to her son Charles IX. only ten years of age - - ibid.

Decline of the power of the duke of Guise, and joy of the Scottish Protestants - - ibid.

Mary queen of Scots solicited to return to her native kingdom - - 403

Her reluctance to leave France - ibid.

Her spirited reply to Throgmorton the English ambassador 404

She embarks on board a galley at Calais, and arrives safe at Leith - - ibid.

Affecting circumstances that accompanied her voyage 405

LETTER LXVI.

France, England, and Scotland, from the Return of Mary Stuart to her native Kingdom, in 1561, till her Imprisonment and the Proclamation of her Son, James VI. together with a retrospective View of the Affairs of Spain.

1561 Mary is received by her Scottish subjects with the loudest acclamations of joy - - ibid.

Her beauty and accomplishments - ibid.

She bestows her confidence on the leaders of the protestant party - - - 406

Knowing her to be a papist they never believe her to be sincere in her professions of good will - ibid.

She with difficulty obtains liberty to celebrate mass in her own chapel - - - ibid.

Insulted by John Knox, who acquires great influence both in the church and state - - 407

She courts the friendship of Elizabeth - ibid.

Jealous prudence of the English queen - 408

A seeming reconciliation between the rival sovereigns ibid.

Cruel bigotry of Philip II. - 409

He persecutes the Protestants in Spain and the Low Countries - - ibid.

Elizabeth sees the necessity of supporting them - 410

Catherine of Medicis attempts to govern France by balancing the Catholics against the Protestants - ibid.

1562 The Protestants allowed the free exercise of their religion without the walls of towns - ibid.

Massacre of Vassay - - 411

The Protestants fly to arms - ibid.

Deplorable

Page
Deplorable ſtate of France - 412
Philip II. become jealous of the progreſs of the French Proteſtants, or Hugonots, ſends ſix thouſand men to reinforce the Catholic party - - ibid.
The Hugonots crave the aſſiſtance of Elizabeth - ibid.
She ſends ſix thouſand men for their ſupport - ibid.
The Catholics make themſelves maſters of Rouen 413
The battle of Dreux - - 414
1563 Aſſaſſination of the Duke of Guiſe - ibid.
An accommodation between the Proteſtants and Catholics 415
Elizabeth, diſſatiſfied with the conditions, refuſes to deliver up Havre de Grace - - ibid.
The garriſon, after an obſtinate reſiſtance, is obliged to capitulate - - 416
1564 Harmony between the queens of England and Scotland broken, by Mary's project of marrying Lord Darnley 417
Character of that young nobleman - ibid.
Motives of Elizabeth for wiſhing to obſtruct their union 418
1565 Marriage of the queen of Scots - ibid.
She ſuppreſſes a rebellion excited by Queen Elizabeth 419
Ungenerous conduct of Elizabeth to the Scottiſh exiles ibid.
Conſpiracy of Bayonne; being a confederacy between the courts of France and Spain for the extinction of the reformed religion, and the deſtruction of the Proteſtants all over Europe - - 420
1566 The queen of Scots accedes to that confederacy ibid.
Account of David Rizzio - 421
Darnley becomes jealous of his intimacy with Mary 422
Violent temper and diſſolute life of this nobleman after his marriage - - ibid.
Mary's coldneſs the effect of his own miſconduct, not of a criminal paſſion - - ibid.
Murder of Rizzio - - 424
Barbarous manner in which it was perpetrated ibid.
Implacable reſentment of Mary againſt her huſband ibid.
She makes him diſown all connexion with the conſpirators, and renders him contemptible by ſo notorious a falſehood ibid.
She is delivered of a ſon - - 425
Behaviour of Elizabeth on that intelligence ibid.
The Engliſh parliament preſs her to marry or ſettle the ſucceſſion to the crown - 426
Account of James Hepburn earl of Bothwell 427
He inſinuates himſelf into the affections of the Queen of Scots - - - ibid.
1567 Murder of Darnley - - 428
The Earl of Bothwell ſuſpected to be the author of it ibid.
Mary, inſtead of bringing him to juſtice, honours him with her confidence, and marries him - 429
Bothwell attempts to get the young prince into his power ib.
The Scottiſh nobles aſſociate for the protection of the prince's perſon, and the puniſhment of the king's murderers ibid.

The

A. D. Page
The queen, deserted by her troops at Carberry-hill, is made prisoner - - 430
Bothwell makes his escape, and dies in a foreign prison 431
Mary is carried in triumph to Edinburgh, and afterwards confined in the castle of Lochlevin - ibid.
Her disconsolate situation - - 432
She is prevailed upon to sign a resignation of the crown ibid.
The earl of Murray, her natural brother, appointed regent, under the infant king, who is proclaimed by the name of James VI. - - ibid.

LETTER LXVII.

Great Britain from the Flight of the Queen of Scots into England, with an Account of the Civil Wars on the Continent, till the Death of Charles IX. of France, in 1574.

1567 The Scottish parliament, summoned by the earl of Murray, as regent, declares the queen's resignation valid, and her imprisonment lawful - - 433
1568 A body of the nobles assemble at Hamilton, and concert measures for supporting her cause - 434
She escapes from confinement, and joins them ibid.
They are totally defeated in the battle of Langside 435
Mary seeks refuge in England, and throws herself on the generosity of her kinswoman, Elizabeth - ibid.
Insidious policy of the English queen - ibid.
She considers herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and proposes to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides - 436
Magnanimous reply of Mary - 437
She is induced to consent to the proposed trial 438
Conferences held between the Scottish and English commissioners on the subject - - ibid.
Mary is accused by the regent of consenting to the murder of her husband, and of being accessary to the contrivance and execution of it - - 439
He produces proofs in support of his charge ibid.
Mary's commissioners break off the conference 440
She haughtily refuses, either to resign her crown, or to associate her son in the government with her ibid.
Elizabeth resolves to detain her a prisoner in England 441
A marriage projected between the queen of Scots and the duke of Norfolk - 442
1569 The confederacy for that purpose discovered, and defeated 443
Norfolk is committed to the Tower - ibid.
An unsuccessful attempt made, by the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, to procure liberty to the Queen of Scots by force of arms - - 444
1570 Violent death of the earl of Murray - ibid.

The

CONTENTS.

A. D.		Page
	The earl of Lennox elected regent of Scotland	445
	Retrospective view of the religious wars in France	ibid.
	The battle of St. Denis [1568]	446
	——— of Jarnac [1569]	447
	The prince of Condé, being wounded and made prisoner, is killed in cold blood	ibid.
	Coligny, the leader of the Hugonots, invests Poitiers	ibid.
	The young duke of Guise obliges him to raise the siege	ibid.
	Coligny defeated in the battle of Moncontour	448
	He again appears formidable	ibid.
	The Hugonots, by a new treaty, obtain liberty of conscience, and several places of refuge	449
1571	Their leaders invited to Paris, and loaded with favours, in order to lull them into security	ibid.
	Sanguinary despotism established by Philip II. in the Low-Countries	450
	Insolence and cruelty of the duke of Alva	ibid.
	Conspiracy for the relief of the Queen of Scots	452
1572	It is discovered, and the duke of Norfolk is condemned and executed for his share in it	453
	Scotland continues in a state of anarchy	ibid.
	The earl of Morton succeeds to the regency, on the death of Marre, who had succeeded Lennox	454
	Violent proceedings in that kingdom	ibid.
	Charles IX. of France insidiously caresses the Hugonots	455
	The massacre of Paris (Aug. 24.)	ibid.
	Horrid circumstances with which it was attended	456
	Exultation of the Spanish, and sorrow of the English court on that occasion	457
	Cautious conduct of Elizabeth	ibid.
	The Hugonots, instead of being annihilated, (though sixty thousand of them were slaughtered) are only roused to more vigorous efforts	458
1573	They obtain advantageous terms of peace	ibid.
1574	Death of Charles IX.	459
	His atrocious character	ibid.

LETTER LXVIII.

Germany, from the Resignation of Charles V. to the Death of Maximilian II. with some Account of the Affairs of Spain, Italy, and Turkey, during that Period.

1557	Ferdinand I. convokes a diet at Ratisbon, which confirms the peace of religion	460
1560	Pius IV. issues a bull for the re-assembling of the Council of Trent	ibid
1562	The Protestant princes persist in denying the authority of that council	ibid.
1563	It is finally dissolved	461

Death

A.D.
1564 Death of Ferdinand I. - - 462
1565 His son and successor, Maximilian II. unavoidably engaged in a war with the Turks - - ibid.
Solyman II. sends a fleet and army to reduce the island of Malta - - ibid.
His general, Mustapha, after a siege of five months, is obliged to relinquish the enterprize - 463
1566 Solyman enters Hungary in person at the head of a powerful army, and invests Sigeth ibid.
Gallant defence and death of Zerini, the governor - ibid.
The place is taken - - ibid.
Death of Solyman II. - - ibid.
His son and successor Selim II. concludes a truce with the emperor Maximilian - ibid.
1570 Selim turns his arms against the island of Cyprus 464
Obstinate defence of Famagosta - ibid.
1571 It is compelled to surrender, and the whole island submits to the sultan - - ibid.
Great naval armament fitted out by the Christian powers, under Don John of Austria - - 465
Oct. 5. Battle of Lepanto - - - ibid.
The Turkish fleet utterly destroyed - 466
The Christians, by reason of their want of union, derive little advantage from their victory - ibid.
1573 The Venetians conclude a peace with Selim ibid.
Don John makes himself master of Tunis, and proposes to erect an independent sovereignty on the coast of Barbary 467
Tunis is invested by a Turkish fleet and army ibid.
Taken by storm, and the garrison put to the sword ibid.
Germany enjoys profound peace under the mild government of Maximilian II. - - - ibid.
1576 His death - - - - ibid.

THE

HISTORY

OF

MODERN EUROPE.

PART I.

From the RISE of the MODERN KINGDOMS to the PEACE of WESTPHALIA, in 1648.

LETTER XLII.

ENGLAND *from the Death of* EDWARD III. *to the Accession of* HENRY V. *with some Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND *during that Period.*

AFTER seeing England victorious over France and Spain, you have seen her, my dear Philip, stript almost of all her possessions on the continent, and Edward III. expiring with much less glory than had distinguished the more early periods of his reign. His successor, Richard II. son of the Black Prince, was little able to recover what had been lost through the indisposition of his father, and the dotage of his grandfather. Happy had it been for him, and for his people, could he have ruled his own kingdom with judgment! A. D. 1377.

Richard was certainly a weak prince, but his weakness was not immediately perceived or felt by the nation. He

was only at his acceſſion, a boy of eleven years of age, from whom conſequently little could be expected. The habits of order and obedience, which the nobility had been taught by the third Edward, ſtill influenced them; and the authority of Richard's three uncles, the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, ſufficed to repreſs for a time that turbulent ſpirit, to which the great barons were ſo often ſubject during a weak reign. The different characters of thoſe three princes rendered them alſo a counterpoiſe to each other; ſo that there appeared no new circumſtance in the domeſtic ſituation of England, which could endanger the public peace, or give any immediate apprehenſions to the lovers of their country.

But this flattering proſpect proved deluſive. Diſcontents and diſſenſions ſoon took place among all orders of men. The firſt tumult was of the popular kind. War had been carried on between France and England, after the death of Edward III. but in ſo languid a manner as ſerved only to exhauſt the finances of both kingdoms. In order to repair the expences of theſe fruitleſs armaments, the Engliſh parliament found it neceſſary to impoſe a poll-tax, of three groats a head, on every perſon, male and female, above fifteen years of age. The inequality and injuſtice of this tax was obvious to the meaneſt capacity, and the rigorous manner in which it was levied, made it yet more grievous. The great body of the people, many of whom were ſtill in a ſtate of ſlavery, became ſeverely ſenſible of the unequal lot which fortune had aſſigned them in the diſtribution of her favours. They looked up to the firſt origin of mankind from one common ſtock, their equal right to liberty, and to all the benefits of nature. Nor did they fail to reflect on the tyranny of artificial diſtinctions, the abuſes which had ariſen from the degradation of the more conſiderable part of the ſpecies, and the aggrandiſement of a few individuals [1].

A. D. 1380.

1. Froiſſard, liv. ii. Walſingham. Knighton.

When

"When Adam delv'd, and Eve span,
"Where was then the gentleman?"

was their favourite distich: and although these verses, when misapplied, strike at the foundation of all society, they contain a sentiment so flattering to that sense of primitive equality, engraved in the hearts of all men, as never to be repeated without some degree of approbation.

When the discontents of the populace were thus prepared, the insolence of a tax-gatherer, and the spirit of a blacksmith, blew them into a flame. While the blacksmith was at work, in a village of Essex, the tax-gatherer came into his shop, and demanded payment for his daughter. The father replied, that she was below the age prescribed by the statute: the tax-gatherer affirmed she was a full grown woman, and in proof of his assertion attempted an indecency which incensed the blacksmith to such a degree, that he knocked the ruffian dead with his forge-hammer. The by-standers applauded the action, and exclaimed that it was full time for the poeple to take vengeance on their tyrants, and assert their native rights. They flew to arms: the flame of sedition spread from county to county; and before the government had the least intimation of the danger, the disorder had grown beyond all controul or opposition.

A. D. 1381.

These mutinous peasants, to the number of one hundred thousand, assembled on Black-heath, under their leader, Wat Tyler; and sent a message to the king, who had taken shelter in the Tower, that they desired a conference with him. Richard sailed down the river in a barge for that purpose; but on approaching the shore, he discovered such symptoms of tumult and insolence, that he judged it prudent to return. Finding, however, that the Tower would be no security against the lawless multitude, and afflicted at the ravages and cruelties of the rioters, who had broken into the city of London; plundered the merchants, and cut off the heads of all the gentlemen they could seize; the young king found

it neceſſary to go out, and aſk their demands. They required a general pardon; the abolition of ſlavery; freedom of commerce in market-towns, without toll or impoſt; and a fixed rent on lands, inſtead of the ſervices due by villanage. Theſe requeſts were highly reaſonable; but the behaviour of Wat Tyler, their leader, who in making his demands, frequently brandiſhed his ſword in a menacing manner, ſo incenſed William Walworth, lord mayor of London, that he lifted up his mace, or, as others ſay, his ſpear, and ſtruck Tyler a violent blow which brought him to the ground, where he was inſtantly run through the body by another of the king's train. The mutineers ſeeing their leader fall, prepared themſelves for revenge; and the king and his whole company muſt have periſhed on the ſpot, had not Richard diſcovered an extraordinary preſence of mind in that extremity. He ordered his attendants to ſtop, advanced alone towards the enraged multitude, and accoſting them with an affable and intrepid countenance, "What! my good people," ſaid he, "is the meaning of this commotion?—Be not con-"cerned for the loſs of your leader. I am your king: I "will become your leader: follow me into the field, and "you ſhall have whatever you deſire." Over-awed by the royal preſence, they implicitly followed him: and he peaceably diſmiſſed them, after granting them their demands[2].

Richard's conduct on this occaſion, conſidering that he was only ſixteen years of age, raiſed great expectations in the nation; but in proportion as he advanced in years, they gradually vaniſhed, and his want of capacity, or at leaſt of ſolid judgment, appeared in every meaſure which he adopted. His firſt expedition was againſt Scotland, into which he marched at the head of an army of ſixty thouſand men. The Scots did not pretend to make reſiſtance againſt ſo great a force: they abandoned, without

A. D. 1385.

2. Ibid.

ſcruple, their rugged territory to be pillaged and laid waſte by the enemy, and made an incurſion into the more fertile provinces of England, where they collected a rich booty, and returned in tranquillity to their own country. The Engliſh monarch, however, wandered over great part of the comparatively barren kingdom of Scotland, and led his army back into England, without taking vengeance on the enemy for their devaſtations [3]. His impatience to return, and enjoy his uſual pleaſures and amuſements, over-balanced every higher conſideration, and made even revenge a motive too feeble to detain him.

Richard, like moſt weak princes, now reſigned himſelf wholly to the direction of a favourite, Robert de Vere, earl of Oxford, a young nobleman of diſſolute manners, whom he loaded with riches, with titles, and with dignities. He firſt created him marquis of Dublin, and afterwards duke of Ireland, with a parliamentary grant of the ſovereignty of that kingdom for life. The uſual, and but too often juſt complaints againſt the inſolence of favourites, were ſoon loudly echoed, and greedily received in all parts of England. A civil war was the conſequence: the royal party was defeated; and Richard was obliged to reſign the government into the hands of a council of fourteen, appointed by the parliament. The duke of Glouceſter, who had been at the head of this inſurrection, next entered an accuſation againſt five of the king's miniſters, who were declared guilty of high treaſon; and as many of them as could be ſeized were executed. The duke of Ireland made his eſcape beyond ſea, as did Michael de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, who had diſcharged the office of lord high chancellor. Both died abroad.

A. D. 1388.

It might naturally be expected that Richard, thus reduced to a ſtate of ſlavery by his ſubjects, and unable to defend his

3. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, ubi ſup.

ſervants from the reſentment of his uncles, would remain long in ſubjection, and never recover the royal power without the moſt violent ſtruggles; but the event proved otherwiſe. A. D. 1389. In leſs than twelve months he was entirely reconciled to his uncles, and exerciſed the regal authority in its full extent.

After theſe domeſtic diſturbances were compoſed, and the government reſtored to its natural ſtate, there paſſed an interval of eight years diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event; but during which the king brought himſelf into the loweſt degree of perſonal contempt, even while his government appeared in a great meaſure unexceptionable. Addicted to vulgar pleaſures, he ſpent his whole time in feaſting and jollity; and diſſipated in idle ſhew, or laviſhed upon favourites of no reputation, that revenue which the people expected to ſee him employ in undertakings for the public honour and advantage.

The duke of Glouceſter ſoon perceived the opportunities which this diſſolute conduct of his nephew afforded him of inſinuating himſelf into the affections of the nation; and he determined to aſpire at popularity, as the ladder to the throne. He ſeldom appeared at court or in the council: he never declared his opinion but in order to diſapprove of the meaſures embraced by the king and his favourites; and he courted the friendſhip of every man whom diſappointment or private reſentment had rendered an enemy to the adminiſtration. Richard, however, got intelligence of his deſigns, and ordered him unexpectedly to be arreſted, and carried over A. D. 1397. to Calais; the only place where he could ſafely be detained in cuſtody, by reaſon of his numerous partizans, and where he was ſoon after murdered. The royal vengeance fell alſo, though with different degrees of ſeverity, on the earls of Arundel and Warwick, the ſuppoſed accomplices of Glouceſter, and on the archbiſhop of Canterbury, Arundel's brother, who was baniſhed the kingdom. Arundel himſelf

ſelf was beheaded, and Warwick was doomed to perpetual confinement in the Iſle of Man[4].

The deſtruction of the duke of Glouceſter, and the ſupporters of his party, was followed by a miſunderſtanding among thoſe noblemen who had joined in the proſecution; and the duke of Hereford, in particular, went ſo far as to accuſe the duke of Norfolk in parliament of having ſpoken "many ſlanderous words of the king." Norfolk denied the charge; gave Hereford the lie, and offered to prove his innocence by duel. The challenge was accepted; the time and place of the combat were appointed, and the whole nation was held in ſuſpence with regard to the event. But when the two champions appeared in the field, accoutred for the fight, the king interpoſed, to prevent both the preſent effuſion of blood, and the future conſequences of the quarrel. He ſtopped the duel, by the advice and authority of the parliamentary commiſſioners, appointed to regulate the combat: and, by the ſame authority, he ordered both the combatants to leave the kingdom[5]. Hereford was baniſhed for ten years, and Norfolk for life.

A. D. 1398.

The ſentence pronounced upon theſe two noblemen appears to have been impartial, but it ſurely was not equitable. The one was condemned without being charged with any offence; the other without being convicted of any crime. It was alſo unpopular. Richard's conduct in this affair was conſidered as a mark of the puſillanimity of his temper: and the weakneſs and fluctuation of his councils, at leaſt, appear on no occaſion more evident. Henry duke of Hereford, being a man of great prudence and ſelf-command, behaved himſelf with ſo much humility after his condemnation, that the king promiſed to ſhorten the term of his exile four years; and alſo granted him letters patent impowering him, in caſe

4. T. Walſingham. Froiſſard, liv. iv. Rymer, vol. vii.

5. T. Walſingham, *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. i.

any inheritance ſhould accrue to him during the interval, to enter into immediate poſſeſſion. But Hereford, who was ſon to the duke of Lancaſter, had no ſooner left the kingdom than Richard's jealouſy of the power and riches of that family revived; and he grew ſenſible, that by Glouceſter's death he had only removed a counterpoiſe to the Lancaſtrian intereſt, which was now become formidable to

A. D. 1399. the throne. He therefore took every method to ſully abroad the reputation of Henry duke of Hereford, and to obſtruct his alliances, by repreſenting him as guilty of treaſonable practices; and when the duke of Lancaſter died, he revoked his letters patent to Henry, and retained poſſeſſion of the family eſtate [6].

Theſe inſtances of rapacity and ſeverity, and the circumſtances with which they were accompanied, threw upon Richard the univerſal odium of the people. Hereford, now duke of Lancaſter, had formerly acquired the eſteem of the public by his valour and abilities. He was connected with moſt of the principal nobility by blood, alliance, or friendſhip; his misfortunes added double luſtre to his merit; all men made his caſe their own: they entered into his reſentment; and they turned their eyes towards him as the only perſon who could retrieve the loſt honour of the nation, or reform the abuſes of government.

While the minds of men were thus diſpoſed, Richard went over to quell an inſurrection in Ireland, and thereby imprudently afforded his exiled couſin an opportunity of gratifying the wiſhes of the nation. Henry landed at Ravenſpur, in Yorkſhire, accompanied only by ſixty perſons; but he was ſuddenly joined by the earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt potent barons in England, and the malcontents in all quarters flew to arms. He ſolemnly declared that he had no other purpoſe in this invaſion than to recover the duchy of Lancaſter, unjuſtly detain-

6. Tyrrel, vol. iii. from the *Records*.

ed from him; and he entreated his uncle, the duke of York, who had been left guardian of the kingdom, not to oppose a loyal and humble supplicant in the recovery of his legal patrimony. His entreaties had the desired effect. The guardian embraced his cause, and he immediately found himself master of England.

Richard no sooner received intelligence of this invasion than he hastened over from Ireland, and landed at Milford Haven, with a body of twenty thousand men. But even that small army was seized with the spirit of disaffection, and the king found himself almost entirely deserted. In this extremity he fled to the Isle of Anglesea, where he proposed to embark for France, and there wait the return of his subjects to a sense of their duty. But before he had an opportunity of carrying his design into execution, the earl of Northumberland waited upon him from the duke of Lancaster, with the strongest professions of loyalty and submission; and Richard was so credulous as to put himself in the power of his enemy. He was carried about in an abject manner, exposed to the insults of the populace; deposed, confined in prison, and afterwards murdered [7]. And the duke of Lancaster was proclaimed king, under the name of Henry IV.

The beginning of the reign of Henry IV. as may naturally be expected from the manner in which he obtained the throne, was stained by many acts of blood and violence. All who opposed his title fell a sacrifice to his rigid policy, and superstition was called in, to swell by new crimes the horrid catalogue. While a subject, Henry was believed to have strongly imbibed the principles of Wickliffe, a secular priest educated at Oxford, who, during the reigns of Edward III. and Richard II. preached the doctrine of reformation; but finding himself possessed of the throne by so precarious a title, this politic prince thought superstition a neces-

7. T. Walsingham. Froissard, ubi sup.

sary

ſary engine of public authority. There had hitherto been no penal laws enacted againſt hereſy in England: Henry, therefore, who made nothing of ſacrificing his principles to his intereſt, underſtanding that the clergy called loudly for the puniſhment of the diſciples of Wickliffe, whoſe learning and genius had in ſome meaſure broken the fetters of prejudice, reſolved to procure the favour of the church by the moſt effectual of all methods, by gratifying her vengeance on thoſe who preſumed to diſpute her infallibility. A law was accordingly enacted, That when any heretic, who relapſed, or refuſed to abjure his opinions, was delivered over to the ſecular arm, by the biſhop or his commiſſaries, he ſhould be committed to the flames by the civil magiſtrate, before the whole people[8].

A. D. 1400.

This weapon did not long remain unemployed in the hands of the clergy. William Sautré, a clergyman in London, had been condemned by the convocation at Canterbury: his ſentence was ratified by the houſe of peers; and the unhappy ſectary ſuffered the puniſhment of fire, becauſe he could not think as the church directed. What a fatal prelude to future horrors, proceeding from the ſame ſource!

But all the prudence and precaution of Henry could not ſhield him from numerous alarms. He was threated from France with an invaſion, which was only prevented by the diſorders in that country; and the revolution in England was ſpeedily followed by an inſurrection in Wales. Owen Glendour, deſcended from the ancient princes of that country, had become obnoxious on account of his attachment to Richard; and Reginald, lord Grey of Ruthyn, who was cloſely connected with the new king, and who enjoyed a great fortune in the Marches of Wales, thought the opportunity favourable for oppreſſing his neighbour, and taking poſſeſſion of his eſtate. Glendour, provoked at the injuſtice, and ſtill more at the indignity, recovered poſſeſſion by the

8. 2 Hen. IV. c. 7.

ſword,

ſword. Henry ſent aſſiſtance to Grey, the Welch took part with Glendour: a tedious and troubleſome war was kindled, which Glendour long ſuſtained by his valour and activity, aided by the natural ſtrength of the country, and the untamed ſpirit of the inhabitants.

The Scots alſo were tempted by theſe diſorders to make incurſions into England; and Henry, deſirous of taking revenge upon them, conducted an army as far north as Edinburgh. But finding that the Scots would neither ſubmit nor give him battle, he returned without affecting any thing of conſequence. Next ſeaſon, however, Archibald earl of Douglas, who, at the head of twelve thouſand men, attended by many of the principal nobility of Scotland, had made an irruption into the northern counties, was overtaken by the Percies of Northumberland on his return, at Homeldon, on the borders of England, where a fierce battle enſued, and the Scots were totally routed. Douglas himſelf was taken priſoner; as were the earls of Angus, Murray, Orkney, and many others of the Scottiſh nobility and gentry [9].

A. D. 1401.

A. D. 1402.

When Henry received intelligence of this victory, he ſent the earl of Northumberland orders not to ranſome his priſoners; a privilege which that nobleman regarded as his right, by the then received laws of war. The king intended to detain them, that he might be able, by their means, to make an advantageous peace with Scotland. But by this ſelfiſh policy he gave freſh diſguſt to the powerful family of Northumberland. The impatient ſpirit of Harry Percy commonly known by the name of Hotſpur, and factious diſpoſition of the earl of Worceſter, younger brother of the earl of Northumberland, inflamed the diſcontents of that nobleman; and the precarious title of Henry tempted Northumberland to ſeek revenge, by overturning that throne which he had at firſt eſtabliſhed. He entered into a correſpondence with Glendour: he ſet the earl of Douglas at li-

9. Walſingham, Hall, Otterbourne.

berty,

berty, and made an alliance with that martial chieftain. But when war was ready to break out, the earl of Northumberland was unfortunately seized with a sudden illness at Berwick; and young Percy, taking the command of the troops, marched towards Shrewsbury, in order to join his forces with those of Glendour.

The king had happily a small army on foot, with which he intended to act against the Scots; and knowing the importance of celerity in all civil wars, he instantly hurried down, in order to give battle to the rebels. He approached Percy near Shrewsbury, before that nobleman was joined by Glendour; and the policy of one leader, and impatience of the other, made them hasten to a general engagement. The armies were nearly equal in number, consisting of about twelve thousand men each; and we scarcely find any battle in those ages, where the shock was more terrible or more constant. Henry exposed his person in the thickest of the fight; and the prince of Wales, his gallant son, whose military atchievements became afterwards so famous, and who here performed his noviciate in arms, signalised himself in a remarkable manner. Percy supported that renown which he had acquired in many a bloody combat; and Douglas, his ancient enemy, and now his friend, still appeared his rival amid the horror and confusion of the fight. This nobleman performed feats of valour which are almost incredible. He seemed determined the king of England should fall that day by his arm. He fought him all over the field; and as Henry had accoutred several captains in the royal garb, in order to encourage his troops, the sword of Douglas rendered that honour fatal to many. But while the armies were contending in this furious manner, the death of Hotspur, accomplished by an unknown hand, decided the victory; the royalists prevailed. There are said to have fallen on both sides near two thousand three hundred gentlemen.

A. D. 1403.

The earl of Northumberland, having recovered from his sickness,

ſickneſs, had levied a freſh army, and was on his march to join his ſon: but being oppoſed by the earl of Weſtmoreland, and hearing of the defeat at Shrewſbury, he diſmiſſed his forces, and came with a ſmall retinue to the king at York. He pretended that his ſole intention in arming was to mediate between the parties. Henry thought proper to admit the apology, and even granted him a pardon for his offence. All the other rebels were treated with equal lenity: and, except the earl of Worceſter and Sir Richard Vernon, who were regarded as the chief authors of the inſurrection, no perſon engaged in that dangerous conſpiracy ſeems to have periſhed by the hands of the executioner [10].

This rebellion was no ſooner quelled than another was ready to break out, ſupported by the earl of Nottingham and the archbiſhop of York. But it was diſcovered before it was ripe for execution, and the earl and the archbiſhop were both beheaded. A. D. 1405. Northumberland alſo was concerned in this ſecond rebellion, but made his eſcape into Scotland; whence returning to commit new diſorders, he was ſlain at Bramham, along with lord Bardolf [11]. A. D. 1408. The defeat of Glendour, and the ſubmiſſion of the Welch, which happened ſoon after, freed Henry from all his domeſtic enemies; A. D. 1409. and a fortunate event which had thrown the heir to the crown of Scotland into his hands, made him alſo ſecure on that quarter.

Robert III. king of Scotland, though a prince of ſlender capacity, was extremely innocent and inoffenſive in his conduct. But Scotland, at that time, was ſtill leſs fitted than England for cheriſhing a ſovereign of ſuch a character. The duke of Albany, Robert's brother, a prince of a boiſterous and violent diſpoſition, had aſſumed the government of the ſtate; and not ſatisfied with preſent authority, he entertained the criminal purpoſe of extirpating his bro-

10. Ibid. Rymer, vol. viii.

11. T. Walſingham.

ther's children, and of acquiring the crown to his own family. He threw into prison David, his eldest nephew, who there perished by hunger; so that James, the younger brother of David, alone stood between the tyrant and the throne. Robert, therefore, sensible of his son's danger, embarked him on board a ship, with a view of sending him into France, and of trusting him to the protection of that friendly power. Unfortunately, however, the vessel was taken by the English; and although there subsisted at that time a truce between the two kingdoms, Henry refused to restore the young prince to his liberty[12]. But he made ample amends for this want of generosity by bestowing on James an excellent education, which afterwards qualified him, when he mounted the throne, to reform, in some measure, the rude and barbarous manners of his native country.

The remaining part of the reign of Henry IV. was chiefly spent in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; which he at length brought into much order, by his valour, prudence, and address. In his latter years, however, he began to turn his eyes towards those bright projects, which his more fortunate son conducted so successfully against the French monarchy; but his declining health prevented him from attempting to put any of them in execution. Afflicted for some years with violent fits, which frequently deprived him of all sensation, and threatened his existence, he was carried off by one of them at Westminster in the forty-sixth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his reign[13]. He left behind him the reputation of a wise prince, a prudent king, but a bad man; and yet, if we consider the circumstances in which he was involved, we can hardly conceive any person to carry his ambition to the same height, and transmit a throne to his posterity, with less violence to humanity.

A. D. 1413.

12. Buchanan, lib. 10. *Scotichronicon*, lib. xv.
13. Walsingham. Otterbourne.

We

We should now examine the affairs of France under Charles VI. as an introduction to the reign of Henry V. of England, who became sovereign of both kingdoms; but we must first carry forward the history of the empire and the church.

LETTER XLIII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies*, ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Accession of* WINCESLAUS *to the death of* SIGISMUND.

THE history of the German empire, my dear Philip, becomes always more important to us, in proportion as we advance in the narration, though the empire itself grew daily less consequential. We now approach two principal events in the history of the church: the Great Schism in the West, and the Council of Constance.

Winceslaus, at the age of seventeen, succeeded his father, Charles IV. in the government of the empire, and on the throne of Bohemia, when the church was divided by one of those violent contests so disgraceful to Christianity. The Italians had raised to the pontificate Urban VI. who confirmed the election of the new emperor, and the French had chosen Clement VII. During these troubles Winceslaus appointed Jadoc, marquis of Moravia, his vicar-general in Italy; laid injunctions on him to inquire which of the two persons chosen, was the true pope; to acknowledge and protect him whom he should find to be canonically elected, and to expel by force the other, who had intruded himself into the chair. He likewise held a diet at Nuremburg, and afterward one at Frankfort, where the affair of the popes being examined, Urban VI. was acknowledged by the German bishops and

A. D. 1378.

A. D. 1379.

 archbishops,

archbishops, and Winceslaus and the princes of the empire engaged to protect him in the papacy [1].

After the diet of Frankfort, the emperor repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he resided sometime, because the plague raged in Bohemia; and here he gave himself up to all manner of debauchery, neglecting the affairs of the empire to such a degree, that the princes and towns of Germany were obliged to enter into associations for their mutual defence. At the same time Italy was torn in pieces by the schism in the church. Clement, who had taken Rome from his rival, was expelled in his turn by the citizens, and afterwards settled at Avignon, the former residence of the French pontiffs. Urban used his victory like a tyrant. But all priests in power, it has been said, are tyrants. The famous Joan, queen of Naples, of whom I have already had occasion to speak, first experienced the effects of Urban's vengeance.

This princess, who had imprudently espoused the cause of Clement, had been several times married, but had no children by any of her husbands; she therefore adopted Charles de Durazzo, the natural heir to her kingdom, and the only remaining descendant of the house of Anjou in Naples. But Durazzo, unwilling to wait for the crown till the natural death of his adoptive mother, associated himself with pope

A. D. 1380. Urban, who crowned him king of Naples at Rome, on condition that he should bestow the principality of Capua on Francis Prignano, nephew to his Holiness. Urban also deposed queen Joan, and declared her guilty of heresy and high-treason.

These steps being taken, the pope and Durazzo marched towards Naples. The church plate and church lands were

A. D. 1382. sold, in order to facilitate the conquest. Joan meanwhile, was destitute of both money and troops. In this extremity, she invited to her assistance

1. Du Puy, *Hist. Gen. du Schisme*, &c. Maimbourg, *Hist. du grand Schisme d'Occident.*

Lewis

Lewis of Anjou, brother to Charles V. of France. But Lewis, whom ſhe had adopted in the room of the ungrateful Durazzo, arrived too late to defend his benefactreſs, or diſpute the kingdom with his competitor. The pope and Durazzo entered Naples, after having defeated and taken priſoner Otho of Brunſwick, the queen's huſband. All reſiſtance now appeared to be in vain, and flight alone ſeemed practicable. But even in this the unfortunate Joan failed: ſhe fell into the hands of the uſurper; who, in order to give ſome colour to his barbarity, declared himſelf the avenger of the murder of her firſt huſband. Lewis king of Hungary was conſulted in regard to the fate of the unhappy queen. He replied, that ſhe muſt ſuffer the ſame death which ſhe had inflicted on his brother and her huſband, Andrew: and Durazzo ordered her to be ſmothered between two mattreſſes [2]. Thus periſhed the famous Joan I. queen of Naples, who was celebrated by Petrarch and Boccace; and whoſe life, character, and cataſtrophe, have a ſingular reſemblance to thoſe of the unfortunate Mary Stuart, queen of Scotland, whom I ſhall afterward have occaſion to mention. A. D. 1383.

While one gallant woman thus ſunk beneath the arm of power, another roſe ſuperior to all reſiſtance. On the death of Olaus, king of Denmark, his mother Margaret aſcended the throne, with the unanimous conſent of the people; and even recommended herſelf ſo ſtrongly to the Swedes, who were oppreſſed by their own king Albert, that they renounced their allegiance to that prince, and made her a ſolemn tender of their crown. She accepted the offer; marched to their aſſiſtance, and defeated Albert, who was depoſed, and obliged to retire into the dominions of his brother the duke of Mecklenburg. On this revolution in Sweden, Margaret aſſumed the reins of government, and was diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of the Semiramis of the North [3]. A. D. 1387. A. D. 1388.

2. Gianone, *Hiſt. di Nap.*

3. Nuitfel. *Hiſt. Dan.* tom. iv.

Meantime Winceslaus continued immersed in debauchery, and seemed industrious in acquiring the implacable hatred of his subjects by the extraordinary taxes he imposed, and the cruelties which he exercised upon people of all ranks. In order to familiarize himself to blood and carnage, he descended so low as to contract an intimacy with the public executioner, whom he distinguished by the appellation of his gossip; and in one of his fits of intoxication, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive [4].

On account of these irregularities, and of selling the rights of the empire, both in Italy and Germany, the electors assembled at the castle of Laenstein on the Rhine, deposed Winceslaus, and raised to the imperial dignity Frederic duke of Brunswick and Lunenburg; but he being basely murdered by count Waldeck before his coronation, they elected in his stead Rupert or Robert count Palatine of the Rhine.

A. D. 1399.

Winceslaus was so little mortified at the news of his deposition, that he is reported to have said, when he received the intelligence, "We are overjoyed to be delivered from "the burden of the empire; because we shall have more "leisure to apply ourselves to the government of our own "kingdom:" and it must be owned, that during the nineteen years, which he afterwards reigned in Bohemia, his conduct was much less exceptionable. But although the indolent Winceslaus was so little concerned at the loss of the empire, he appears to have been sensibly affected by some of its probable consequences, though seemingly of less moment; for he is said to have desired as a last mark of the fidelity of the imperial cities, that they would send him "some butts of their best wine [5]."

The first expedition of the new emperor was against Galeazo Visconti, whom Winceslaus had created duke of Milan, and who, not contented with this promotion, pro-

4. Dubrav. lib. xxiii. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.
5. Barre, tom. vii.

posed by force of arms to make himself master of Florence, Mantua, Bologna, and other towns and countries, to be incorporated with his duchy. In order to preserve these territories, and recover the imperial authority in Italy, Robert marched into the duchy of Milan, and encamped before the city of Brixen. But Galeazo was so well provided with troops and military stores, that the emperor was obliged to return to Germany, without being able to effect any thing of importance [6]. A. D. 1402.

The retreat of Robert left the field open to Galeazo, who now projected nothing less than the conquest of the whole kingdom of Italy: and fortune at first seemed to second his views. He made himself master of the city of Bologna, and had almost reduced Florence, when he was attacked by a malignant fever, which at once put an end to his life, and his projects. As he left only one daughter, who was not of age, a favourable opportunity was offered Robert of retrieving the affairs of the empire in Italy. But the German princes were so little pleased with his first expedition, that they would not grant him supplies for a second. He therefore employed himself in appeasing the troubles of Germany, and aggrandizing his own electorate; to which he added the fiefs of Gegenbach, Ortemberg, Offenburg, Zell, Hermanbach, and several other lordships of Alsace, purchased of the bishop of Strasburgh [7]. A. D. 1403.

In the mean time Bohemia was involved in new disorders by the preaching of John Huss, professor of divinity in the university of Prague, who had embraced the opinions of Wickliffe, and was excommunicated by the pope. The publication of this sentence was followed by troubles and seditions. Winceslaus shut himself up in the fortress of Visigrade, and John Huss retired to Hussinet, the place of his nativity; where he appealed from the judgment of the pope to the Holy Trinity, and wrote to the cardinals, offering to give an account of his faith, even A. D. 1409.

6. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. xxviii. 7. Barre, tom. vii.

at the hazard of fire, before the univerſity of Pragae, and in the preſence of thoſe who had attended his lectures and ſermons [8].

The Roman church not only ſuffered from theſe innovations, but alſo continued in a ſtate of diſtraction from the ſchiſm which ſtill remained, and which the emperor attempted in vain to cement. Gregory XII. who was acknowledged pope in Italy, convened a council at Aquileia, to which he invited Robert, and other Chriſtian princes, in order to conſider this matter. Benedict XIII. who was owned in France, held another council at Catalonia: the cardinals convoked a third at Piſa, and the emperor appointed a diet, for the ſame purpoſe, at Frankfort; where, after long debates, the opinions of the aſſembly were divided between the two popes. The greater part of the archbiſhops, prelates, and princes, eſpouſed the cauſe of the cardinals; but the emperor, the archbiſhop of Triers, the duke of Bavaria, and ſome others, declared for Gregory, who propoſed that a council ſhould be held at Udnia, in Friuli, under the direction of Robert, by whoſe deciſion he promiſed to abide. The emperor therefore ſent an archbiſhop, two biſhops, two doctors, and his chancellor, as ambaſſadors to Piſa, to prove by learned arguments, that the cardinals ought not to depoſe Gregory. But theſe ambaſſadors finding they could make no converts to their opinion, and that the cardinals, attached to Winceſlaus, would not even acknowledge their maſter as emperor, appealed from the council of Piſa to an œcumenical council, and retired without taking leave. The cardinals, however, proceeded to the depoſition of the two popes, and raiſed to the apoſtolic chair Alexander V. By this meaſure the ſchiſm was increaſed, there being now three popes inſtead of two [9].

Robert died ſoon after this pious negociation, and before he was able to ſettle the affairs of the Holy See. He was

8. Moſheim, *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iii. et. Auct. cit. in loc.
9. Id. ibid.

ſucceeded in the empire, after a diſputed election, by Sigiſmund, brother to the depoſed Winceſlaus, and king of Hungary; a prince of experience and abilities, and whoſe firſt care was to heal the wounds of the church. For that purpoſe, he convoked a general council at Conſtance, with the concurrence of pope John XXIII. ſucceſſor of Alexander V. A. D. 1411.

At this council, where Sigiſmund appeared in all his glory, were preſent a prodigious number of cardinals, prelates, doctors; more than an hundred ſovereign princes; one hundred and eight counts; two hundred barons; and twenty-ſeven ambaſſadors from the ſeveral European courts, who all vied with each other in luxury and magnificence. There were alſo five hundred players on inſtruments, called in thoſe times minſtrels; and ſeven hundred and eighteen courtezans, who were protected by the magiſtracy[10]. A. D. 1414.

In the firſt ſeſſion the fathers of the council concluded, that nothing could ſo effectually contribute to re-eſtabliſh the union of the church as the reſignation of the competitors for the papacy. John XXIII. who preſided in the council, aſſented to this opinion, and promiſed to renounce his title, provided Angelo Corrario, who had aſſumed the name of Gregory XII. and Peter de Luna, diſtinguiſhed by that of Benedict XIII. would imitate him in that act of ſelf-denial. This declaration was no ſooner made than the emperor roſe from his chair, and ran and embraced the feet of his Holineſs, applauding his Chriſtian reſignation. He was alſo ſolemnly thanked by the patriarch of Antioch, in the name of the whole council. But John afterwards repented of this condeſcenſion; and by the aſſiſtance of Frederic duke of Auſtria, fled from Conſtance in the night, diſguiſed in the habit of a poſtilion[11]. A. D. 1415.

This unexpected retreat at firſt diſconcerted the council,

10. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom ii.

11. Thod. de Niem. in *Vit. Jo.* XXIII.

which John declared to be diſſolved in conſequence of his ſeceſſion. But the fathers at length agreed, after many learned arguments, That a council is ſuperior to the pope; confirmed the ſentence of John's depoſition; decreed that no other pope ſhould be choſen without the conſent of the council; and that John, together with his competitors, Angelo Corrario, and Peter de Luna, ſhould be for ever excluded from the papacy. Finding them thus determined, John thought proper to yield to the torrent rather than run the riſk of worſe fortune in attempting to oppoſe it. He quietly acquieſced in the ſentence of the council, and freely renounced the pontificate, the enſigns of which he immediately laid aſide [12]. Soon after this reſignation, Gregory XII. ſent a legate to the emperor and council to renounce his title in the ſame manner; but the proud Spaniard, Peter de Luna, would not yield: he remained obſtinate to the laſt.

The affair of John Huſs came next upon the carpet. John, as had been already obſerved, had imbibed the opinions of Wickliffe, and converted to his own way of thinking an infinite number of people of all ranks. Among others, his doctrine was embraced by Jerome of Prague, a man of learning, whom he engaged as his colleague, and who propagated the new religion with great warmth. They had been ſummoned to appear before the court of Rome, but refuſed to obey the citation. They condeſcended, however, to attend the council of Conſtance, in order to juſtify the doctrine they profeſſed; and Huſs, being provided with a ſafe conduct from the emperor, boldly attempted to defend the articles of his faith before the fathers of the council. That venerable body, however, ſeemed inclined to condemn him unheard, when the emperor deſired them to liſten to what Huſs had to ſay in his own defence. He was accordingly queſtioned in preſence of Sigiſmund, and accuſed of hereſy in thirty-nine articles. Part of theſe he denied, and part he offered to de-

12. Id. ibid.

fend.

fend. But his voice was drowned by the noise purposely made by the cardinals; and on his refusing to abjure all the thirty-nine articles, he was immediately declared a sower of sedition, a hardened heretic, a disciple and defender of Wickliffe. As such he was degraded by four bishops, stripped of his sacerdotal habit, and clothed in a lay dress. His hair was cut in the form of a cross: upon his head was put a paper mitre, painted with the representation of three devils; and he was delivered over to the secular judge, who condemned him and his writings to the flames, and fixed the day of his execution [13]. He died with great constancy.

After the execution of John Huss, the council resumed the affair of Peter de Luna, who still obstinately refused to quit his pretensions to the papacy. On this occasion Sigismund offered to go into Spain in person, and engage the mediation of Ferdinand king of Arragon, with whom Peter had taken refuge. By such a journey the emperor hoped to obtain a voluntary renunciation, like that of the other two, before the council should proceed to extremity. He set out accordingly for Spain, accompanied by twelve deputies from the council; and on his arrival at Perpignan, he entered into a negociation with Benedict, otherwise Peter de Luna, the result of which was sent to the council, though by no means answerable to his expectations. The obstinacy of Benedict was insurmountable, and incensed the emperor to such a degree, that he threatened to obtain by force that assent which the pope refused to grant by fair means; and Benedict, in consequence of these menaces, retired to the fortress of Paniscola, where he resolved to preserve his pontifical dignity to his latest breath. This unexpected flight deprived him of all his partizans. The king of Arragon, with all the princes and bishops of his party, sent deputies to the emperor at Narbonne; where it was agreed, That the council should invite all the former ad-

A. D. 1416.

13. Laur. Byzin. *Diar. Hussitic. Chron. Magdeb. Biblioth. Angl.*

herents of Benedict to come to Constance, and join their endeavours for re-establishing the peace of the church; and, that on their arrival, a new pope should be chosen [14].

During the absence of Sigismund, the trial of Jerome of Prague engaged the attention of the council. This man had repaired to Constance, with a design to assist John Huss in making his defence; but perceiving he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the fathers, he resolved to retire with all expedition into Bohemia. Being apprehended, however, upon the road, he was loaded with chains, and brought back to Constance; where, in order to avoid the punishment of fire, he solemnly abjured the opinions of Wickliffe and Huss. But ashamed to survive his master, who had encountered death with so much firmness, or not deriving the advantages he expected from his submission, he professed anew the same doctrines; was condemned to the flames as a wicked apostate, and suffered with great fortitude [15].

Poggio the Florentine, secretary to pope John, and one of the first restorers of letters, who was present on this occasion, says he never heard any thing that approached so nearly to the eloquence of the ancient Greeks and Romans, as the speech which Jerome made to the judges. "He spoke," exclaims Poggio, "like Socrates; and walked to the stake "with as much chearfulness, as that great philosopher drank "the cup of hemlock!"

After the return of Sigismund, the council proceeded against Benedict for contumacy, when the definitive sentence of his deposition was pronounced. Their next care was the election of a new pope: and Otho Colonna, who possessed the accomplishments of a prince, and the virtues of a prelate, was unanimously chosen on St. Martin's day, whence he took the name of Martin V. Never was the inauguration of any pontiff attended with

A.D. 1417.

14. Theod. Niem. ubi sup. Heiss, lib. ii. cap. 30.

15. Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Spond. *Contin.* tom. ii.

greater

greater pomp. He rode in proceſſion to the cathedral, mounted on a white horſe; the emperor and the elector of Brandenburg on foot, leading it by the reins. A numerous crowd of princes, the ambaſſadors of all the kings, and the fathers of the council, cloſed the train. When he entered the cathedral, the triple crown was placed upon his head, and he returned in the ſame auguſt manner [16].

The important affair of the ſchiſm being thus concluded, every thing elſe was regulated by the council, which broke up in its forty-fifth Seſſion. The diſputes about religion, however, ſtill raged with greater violence than ever. The Huſſites in Prague were ſo much offended at being prohibited the cup in the ſacrament of the euchariſt (contrary, as they affirmed, to the expreſs words of our Saviour, who ſays, "Except ye eat the fleſh of the ſon "of man, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you!") that they raiſed a furious tumult, forced the town-houſe, and murdered the magiſtrates, who were concerned in publiſhing the order [17]. A. D. 1419.

The news of this maſſacre filled the court of Winceſlaus with the utmoſt conſternation, and made ſo ſtrong an impreſſion on that puſillanimous prince, that he was ſeized with an apoplexy, of which he died in a few days. He was ſucceeded in the kingdom of Bohemia by his brother Sigiſmund, already emperor, and king of Hungary; yet this powerful prince was ſeveral times defeated by Ziſka, then general of the Huſſites, who revenged the death of their apoſtle by the moſt terrible outrages.

A particular account of the war between the emperor and the Huſſites, would interfere with more important matters, without anſwering any valuable purpoſe: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that Ziſka continued maſter of Bohemia till his death, when he ordered a drum A. D. 1424.

16. Barre, tom. vii. *Annal de l' Emp.* tom. ii.
17. Byzinii *Diarium Huſſiticum.* Moſheim, ubi ſupra.

to

to be made of his skin, which was long the symbol of victory. He was succeeded in the command by Procopius, surnamed the Shaven, because he had been a priest, and who supported his party with no less valour than his predecessor. He boldly defended their cause in the council of
A. D. 1433. Basil, where many things were disputed, which it is of little consequence to know: and although he was unsuccessful in that negociation, and also in a battle with the catholics, in which he was mortally wounded, yet the Hussites, even in this extremity, obtained a gene-
A. D. 1436. ral amnesty, the confirmation of their privileges, and the right of using the cup in the communion; a concession which, to them, was a kind of triumph [18].

After this pacification, Sigismund enlisted the Hussites in his army, and led them against the Turks, who had made an irruption into Hungary, and were defeated with
A. D. 1437. great slaughter by these hardy veterans. But although Sigismund had been so fortunate as to regain the affections of the Bohemians, he lost it anew by attempting to tyrannize over their consciences; and death only saved him from a second revolt. He nominated as his successor, in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, Albert, duke
A. D. 1438. of Austria, his son-in-law, who was recognized by these states, and also raised to the empire. The house of Austria has ever since held the imperial throne.

Sigismund, with many respectable qualities, was a narrow-minded bigot; and, contrary to the dictates of sound policy as well as of humanity, was guilty of the most detestable of all tyranny, that of violence on the will. His wife Barbara is said to have been a person of a more enlarged way of thinking, though not more to her honour. She denied a future state, and held the supreme good to consist in sensual delight. Conformably to this opinion, she set no bounds to her licentious amours after the death of the em-

18. Id. ibid.

peror.

peror. And when a certain lady of reputation mentioned to her the example of the turtle, which after having loſt its mate, never chuſes another, "Why," cried ſhe, "inſtance a "bird that lives in perpetual ſolitude, far from the habita-"tions of men, and of which we know little? Is the ex-"ample more forcible, or more fit for imitation, than that of "the pigeon and the ſparrow, birds always in our view, and "whoſe loves and joys are in continual ſucceſſion[19]?"

The affairs of France now claim our attention.

LETTER XLIV.

FRANCE *from the Death of* CHARLES V. *in* 1380, *to the Invaſion of that Kingdom by* HENRY V. *of* ENGLAND, *in* 1415.

THE death of Charles V. of France, my dear Philip, which happened, as I have already obſerved, ſoon after that of Edward III. of England, and the youth of his ſon Charles VI. put the two kingdoms in a ſimilar ſituation. A. D. 1410. Both were under the government of minors: and the jealouſies between the three uncles of Charles VI. the dukes of Adjou, Berri, and Burgundy, diſtracted the affairs of France even more than the rivalry between the dukes of Lancaſter, York, and Glouceſter, the three uncles of Richard II. diſordered thoſe of England. But a particular account of theſe diſtractions would be inconſiſtent with my preſent purpoſe; which is only to delineate the great line of hiſtory, and make you acquainted with the more remarkable events, or ſuch as have had a particular influence upon government and manners. In the reign of Charles VI. no enterprize of conſequence was undertaken,

19. Æn. Sylv. cap. xxxiii. Dub. av. lib. xxviii.

and

and government and manners, properly ſpeaking, were equally unknown. I ſhall, therefore, conſider the hiſtory of France, during this diſtracted period, as only an introduction to the invaſion of that kingdom by Henry V. of England.

In proportion as the king advanced in years, the factions were compoſed. His uncle, the duke of Anjou, died; and Charles himſelf, aſſuming the reins of government, diſcovered ſymptoms of genius and ſpirit, which revived the drooping hopes of his countrymen. But this promiſing ſtate of things was of ſhort duration. The unhappy Charles fell ſuddenly into a fit of frenzy, which rendered him incapable of exerciſing his authority; and although he partly recovered from that diſorder, he was ſubject to ſuch frequent relapſes, that his judgment was gradually impaired, and he became incapable of purſuing any ſteady plan of government[1].

A. D. 1388.

A. D. 1392.

The king's firſt relapſe is ſaid to have been occaſioned by the following accident. The queen having married one of her maids of honour to a perſon of diſtinction, the nuptials were intended to be celebrated with great pomp at the palace of the queen-dowager, relict of Philip of Valois. Among other amuſements there was to be a maſquerade: a circumſtance which furniſhed five young noblemen with the extravagant idea of appearing as naked ſavages; and ſuch was the indelicay of the times, that the king made one of the party. Their dreſs, contrived to fit cloſe to their bodies, was of linen covered with roſin; which, while hot, had been powdered with fur. And the ſecret was ſo well kept, that, when they appeared, they were not known; but their whim was highly applauded. The ducheſs of Berri laid hold of the king, ſeeing him robuſt and well made, and told him ſhe would not let him go, till ſhe knew who he was. In the mean time the reſt began to

A. D. 1393.

1. *Hiſt. Anonym. de Charles VI.*

dance;

dance; when the duke of Orleans, out of levity, making a feint of running a lighted torch againſt one of the ſavages, ſet his combuſtible habit on fire. The flame was quickly communicated to the reſt, and this ſcene of wanton mirth was inſtantly changed into ſorrow and diſtreſs. But in the midſt of their torments the maſks cried out continually, "Save the king! ſave the king!"—And the ducheſs of Berri, ſuddenly recollecting that he muſt be the maſk that ſtood next her, immediately threw her robes over him, and wrapping them cloſe about him, put out the fire. One of the maſks, by jumping into a ciſtern of water, ſaved his life; the other four were ſo terribly burnt, that they died in two days; and the king was ſo much affected with the fright, that it occaſioned a return of his diſorder, which afterwards generally attacked him four or five times a year to the end of his life [2].

Hiſtory ſcarce affords any parallel of a court or country more corrupt, and at the ſame time more miſerable, than that of this unfortunate monarch and his ſubjects, in conſequence of his infirmity. The adminiſtration fell again into the hands of the dukes of Berri and Burgundy, who excluded the duke of Orleans, the king's brother, under pretence of his youth, from any ſhare in the government, and even from the ſhadow of authority. The caſe, however, was very different in regard to the ducheſs of Orleans. Young, beautiful, and inſinuating, ſhe acquired ſuch an aſcendant over the king, that ſhe governed him at her pleaſure. Nay, what is yet more extraordinary, it was ſhe only that could govern him; for in the time of his malady he knew nobody elſe, not even the queen. Hence it was rumoured by the ducheſs of Burgundy, who envied the influence of the ducheſs of Orleans, that ſhe had bewitched the king; and, in order to heighten the odium, it was inſinuated that the duke of Orleans had alſo bewitched the queen [3]. That both were un-

2. Juv. des Urſ. *Hiſt. Anonym.* &c.

3. Juv. de Urſins. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

der the influence of enchantment is not to be doubted: but it was only that of youth, wit, and beauty, whoſe aſſiduities ſo often faſcinate the ſuſceptible heart; and, when unreſtrained by principle or ſentiment, lead it in the chains of looſe deſire [4].

While things were in this ſituation the duke of Burgundy died. He was ſucceeded in the duchy by his ſon, John count of Nevers, who diſputed the adminiſtration with the duke of Orleans, and hoped to govern France as his father had done. Propinquity to the crown pleaded in favour of the latter; the former derived conſequence from his ſuperior power, the death of his mother having added the county of Flanders to his father's extenſive dominions. The people were divided between theſe contending princes, and the king, now reſuming and now dropping his authority, kept the victory undecided, and prevented any regular ſettlement of the ſtate, by the final prevalence of either party.

A. D. 1405.

But at length the dukes of Orleans and Burgundy, ſeemingly moved by the cries of the nation, and ſwayed by the interpoſition of common friends, agreed to bury all paſt quarrels in oblivion, and enter into a league of mutual amity. They ſwore before the altar to the ſincerity of this friendſhip; the prieſt adminiſtered the ſacrament to both of them; and they gave to each other every pledge that could be deemed ſacred among men. All this ſolemn preparation, however, appears to have been only a cover for the baſeſt treachery, deliberately premeditated by the duke of Burgundy. He had hired ruffians, who aſſaſſinated his rival in the ſtreets of Paris [5]. The author of the crime was

A. D. 1407.

4. Iſabella of Bavaria, queen of France, and Valentinia of Milan, ducheſs of Orleans, were both remarkably handſome and accompliſhed; and the duke was alike amorous and ambitious.

5. Le Laboureur, liv. xxvii. Monſtrelet, chap. xxxix. The murder of the duke of Orleans is ſaid, by ſome authors, to have been occaſioned chiefly by his own inſolence and licentiouſneſs. (Duhaillan. Brantome.) Having ſucceeded

was for some days unknown, as the assassins escaped, and the duke endeavoured to conceal the part which he had taken in it; but being detected, he embraced a resolution still more criminal, and more dangerous to society. He openly avowed and justified the action.

This cause was brought before the parliament of Paris; and that august tribunal of justice heard the harangues of the duke of Burgundy's advocate in defence of assassination, which he denominated tyrannicide, without pronouncing any sentence or condemnation against the detestable doctrine. The same question was afterwards agitated before the council of Constance; and it was with difficulty that a feeble decision in favour of the contrary opinion, was obtained from those fathers of the church, the ministers of the Prince of Peace[6].

But the mischievous effects of that tenet, had they been before anywise doubtful, appeared sufficiently from the subsequent incidents. The commission of this crime, which destroyed all trust and security, rendered the war implacable between the French parties, and cut off every means of peace and accommodation. The princes of the blood, combining with the young duke of Orleans and his brothers, made violent war on the duke of Burgundy; and the unhappy king, seized sometimes by one party, sometimes by another, transferred alternately to each of them the appearance of legal authority. The provinces were laid waste by mutual depredations: assassinations were every where committed, from the animosity of the several leaders; or, what was equally

ceeded in an amour with the duchess of Burgundy, he had the effrontery to introduce her husband into a cabinet hung with the portraits of the women he had enjoyed, among which hers occupied a distinguished place. Burgundy concealed his emotion, but thirsted for revenge. Ibid.

6. Monstrelet, ubi sup. Bulay, *Hist. Acad. Paris.* tom. v. Mild as this censure was, pope Martin V. refused to ratify it, being afraid of displeasing the duke of Burgundy. (Id. ibid) The university of Paris, more just and less timid, boldly condemned the atrocious doctrine and its author. Bulay ubi sup.

ter-

terrible, executions were ordered, without any legal trial, by pretended courts of judicature.

The whole kingdom was diſtinguiſhed into two parties, the Burgundians, and the Armagnacs; for ſo the adherents of the young duke of Orleans were called, from the count of Armagnac, father-in-law to that prince. The city of Paris, diſtracted between them, but inclining more to the Burgundians, was a perpetual ſcene of blood and violence. The king and royal family were often detained captives in the hands of the populace: their miniſters were butchered or impriſoned before their eyes; and it was dangerous for any man, amid theſe enraged factions, to be diſtinguiſhed by a ſtrict adherence to the principles of probity and honour.

During this ſcene of general violence, there aroſe into ſome conſideration a body of men, which uſually makes no figure in public tranſactions even during the moſt peaceful times; namely, the heads of the univerſity of Paris, whoſe opinion was ſometimes demanded, and more frequently offered, in the multiplied diſputes between the parties. The ſchiſm by which the church was at that time divided, and which occaſioned frequent controverſies in the univerſity, had raiſed the profeſſors to an unuſual degree of importance; and this connection between literature and religion, had beſtowed on the former a conſequence, which reaſon and knowledge have ſeldom been able to obtain among men. But there was another ſociety, whoſe ſentiments were ſtill more deciſive at Paris, the fraternity of butchers; who, under the direction of their ringleaders, had declared for the duke of Burgundy, and committed the moſt violent outrages againſt the oppoſite party. In order to counterbalance this power, the Armagnacs made intereſt with the fraternity of carpenters: the populace ranged themſelves on the one ſide or the other; and the fate of the capital depended on the prevalence of either party [7].

7. Bulay. Juv. des Urſins. P. Æmil. P. Henault.

The

The advantage which might be taken of these confusions, was easily perceived in England; and, according to the maxims which usually prevail among nations, it was determined to lay hold of the favourable opportunity. Henry IV. who was courted by both the French parties, fomented the quarrel, by alternately sending assistance to each; and his son, Henry V. impelled by the vigour of youth, and the ardour of ambition, determined to push his advantages to a greater length, and to carry war into the heart of France. In consequence of this resolution he assembled a great fleet and army at Southampton, and invited all the military men in the kingdom to attend him. But before I speak of the success of that enterprize, I must say a few words of the reign of Henry V. prior to this period.

A. D. 1415.

LETTER XLV.

England and France, *from the invasion of the latter Kingdom by* Henry V. *to the Death of* Charles VI.

THE precarious situation of Henry IV. with whose character, my dear Philip, you are already acquainted, had so much infected his temper with jealousy, that he entertained unreasonable suspicions with regard to the loyalty of his eldest son: and during the latter years of his life, he excluded that prince from all share in public business. The active spirit of young Henry, restrained from its proper exercise, broke out in extravagances of every kind. The riot of pleasure, the frolic of debauchery, and the outrage of intoxication, filled the vacancies of a mind better adapted to the pursuits of ambition and the cares of government. Such a course of life naturally threw him among companions very unbecoming his rank, but whose irregularities, if accompa-

nied with gallantry and humour, he seconded and indulged. And he was detected in many sallies, which to severer eyes, appeared totally unworthy of his station [1].

But the nation in general considered the young prince with more indulgence. They observed so many gleams of generosity, spirit, and magnanimity breaking continually through the cloud, which a wild conduct threw over his character, that they never ceased hoping for his amendment. And the first steps taken by young Henry, after the death of his father, confirmed all those prepossessions entertained in his favour. He called together his former companions; acquainted them with his intended reformation; exhorted them to imitate his example; but strictly prohibited them, until they had given proofs of their amendment, from appearing any more in his presence: while the wise ministers of his father, who had checked his riots, were received with all the marks of favour and confidence. They found that they had unknowingly been paying the highest court to him [2]. The satisfactions of those who feared an opposite conduct, was augmented by their surprize; so that the character of the young king appeared brighter than if it had never been shaded by any errors.

A. D. 1413.

Henry's first care was to banish, as much as possible, all party distinctions. The instruments of the violences of the preceding reign, who had been advanced from their blind zeal for the Lancastrian interest, more than from their integrity or abilities, gave place every where to men of more honourable characters; and virtue and talents seemed now to have a spacious field, in which they might display themselves to advantage. One party distinction, however, remained, which the popularity of Henry

A. D. 1414.

1. Walsingham. Hall. Holingshed.
2. Hall. Holingshed. Hume, chap. xix. Godwin, *Life of Hen. V.*

was not able to overcome. The Lollards, or difciples of Wickliffe, faft increafing in the kingdom, were become a formidable body which appeared dangerous to the church, and even to the civil power.

The head of this fect was fir John Oldcaftle, lord Cobham, a nobleman who had diftinguifhed himfelf by his military talents, and who had, on many occafions, acquired the efteem both of the late and of the prefent king. His high character, and zeal for the new fect, pointed him out to Arundel, archbifhop of Canterbury, as the proper victim of ecclefiaftical feverity. The primate accordingly applied to the king for permiffion to indict lord Cobham. The generous nature of Henry was averfe from fuch fanguinary methods of converfion; but after trying all gentle means in vain, and finding that nobleman obftinate in his opinions, he gave full reins to prieftly vengeance againft the inflexible fectary. Cobham was condemned to the flames, but made his efcape from the Tower before the day appointed for his execution. Provoked by perfecution, and ftimulated by zeal, he was now incited to attempt thofe criminal meafures formerly imputed to him. The king was informed of his defigns: his followers were every where perfecuted; and he himfelf, after a variety of diftreffes, was feized and hanged as a traitor, and his body was burnt on the gibbet, in confequence of the fentence pronounced againft him as a heretic [3].

A. D. 1 5.

The Lollards being thus fuppreffed, Henry had leifure to confider the dying injunction of his father, not to let the Englifh remain long in peace, which was apt to breed inteftine commotions, but to employ them in foreign expeditions; by which the prince might acquire honour, the nobility, in fharing his dangers, attach themfelves to his perfon, and all the reftlefs fpirits find occupation for their inquietude. The natural difpofition of Henry fufficiently inclined him to

3. Walfingham. Otterbu n. Holingfhed.

follow this advice, and the civil diſorders of France, as you have already ſeen, opened a full career for his ambition. He accordingly ſet ſail from Southampton, the place of general rendezvous, and landed near Harfleur, at the head of an army of ſix thouſand men at arms, and twenty-four thouſand foot, moſtly archers.

The king of England, on landing, immediately inveſted Harfleur; which was taken by aſſault, after a ſiege of ſix weeks, and the garriſon put to the ſword. The fatigue of this ſiege, however, and the unuſual heat of the ſeaſon, had ſo much waſted the Engliſh army, that Henry could enter on no further enterprize, and was obliged to think of returning to England. He had diſmiſſed his tranſports, which could not ſafely anchor in an open road upon the enemy's coaſt; ſo that he lay under the neceſſity of marching by land to Calais, before he could reach a place of ſafety. Nor was this all. A French army of fourteen thouſand men at arms, and forty thouſand foot, was already aſſembled in Normandy under the conſtable d'Albert; a force rightly managed, ſufficient either to trample down the Engliſh in the open field, or to harraſs and reduce to nothing their ſmall body, before they could finiſh ſo long and difficult a march. Henry, therefore, prudently offered to ſacrifice his conqueſt of Harfleur for a ſafe paſſage to Calais; but his propoſal being rejected by the French court, he determined to make his way by valour and policy through all the oppoſition of the enemy. And that he might not diſcourage his army by the appearance of flight, or expoſe them to thoſe hazards which naturally attend precipitate marches, he made ſlow and deliberate journies[4].

But notwithſtanding theſe precautions, the Engliſh monarch was continually harraſſed on his march by flying parties of the enemy; and when he approached the Somme, he ſaw bodies of troops on the oppoſite bank, ready to obſtruct

4. Le Laboureux. T. Livii. T. Walſingham.

his

his paſſage. His proviſions were cut off: his ſoldiers languiſhed under ſickneſs and fatigue; and his ſituation ſeemed altogether deſperate. In this extremity, he was ſo fortunate as to ſeize an unguarded ford, over which he ſafely carried his army, and bent his march towards Calais. But he was ſtill expoſed to great and imminent danger from the enemy, who had alſo paſſed the Somme, and threw themſelves full in his way, with a deſign of intercepting his retreat. The whole French army was drawn up in the plains of Azincour, or Agincourt, and poſted in ſuch a manner, that it was impoſſible for the king of England to proceed on his march without coming to an engagement.

Nothing in appearance could be more unequal than the battle, upon which the ſafety and fortune of Henry now depended. The Engliſh army conſiſted of little more than half the number, which had diſembarked at Harfleur: and the troops laboured under every diſcouragement and neceſſity. The enemy was four times more numerous, headed by the Dauphin and all the princes of the blood, and plentifully ſupplied with proviſions. Henry's ſituation was exactly ſimilar to that of Edward III. at the battle of Creſſy, and of the Black Prince at that of Poictiers; and the memory of theſe great events inſpired the Engliſh with courage, and made them hope for a like deliverance from their preſent difficulties. The king alſo obſerved the ſame prudent conduct, which had been followed by thoſe great commanders. He drew up his army on a narrow ground, between two woods, which guarded each flank: and in that poſture he patiently waited the attack of the enemy.

Had the French commander been able to reaſon juſtly on the circumſtances of the two armies, or to profit by paſt experience, he would have declined a combat, and have waited till neceſſity had obliged the Engliſh to advance, and relinquiſh the advantages of their ſituation; but the impetuous valour of the French nobility, and a vain confidence in ſuperior

rior numbers, made him hazard an action, which proved the source of infinite calamities to his country. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms, advanced precipitantly on the English archers, who had fixed pallisades in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with a shower of arrows which nothing could resist. The clayey soil, moistened by rain, proved another obstruction to the force of the French cavalry. The wounded men and horses discomposed their ranks; the narrow compass in which they were pent, prevented them from recovering any order; the whole army was a scene of confusion, terror, and dismay; when Henry, perceiving his advantage, ordered the English archers, who were light and unincumbered, to advance upon the enemy, and seize the moment of victory. They accordingly fell with their battle-axes upon the French, who were now incapable of either flying or defending themselves, and hewed them in pieces without obstruction. Seconded by the men at arms, who also pushed on against the enemy, they covered the field with the killed, wounded, dismounted, and overthrown. Every appearance of opposition being now over, the English had leisure to make prisoners; but having advanced to the open plain, they there saw the remains of the French rear-guard, which still maintained the form of a line of battle. At the same time they heard an alarm from behind. Some gentlemen of Picardy having collected about six hundred peasants, had fallen upon the English baggage, and were doing execution on the unarmed followers of the camp, who fled before them. On this alarm Henry began to entertain apprehensions from his prisoners, and he thought it necessary to issue general orders for putting them to death; but on discovering the truth, he stopped the slaughter, and great numbers of those unhappy men were saved [5].

5. T. Elmham. T. Livii. T. Walsingham.

No

No victory was ever more honourable, or more complete than this of Azincour. The loss of the French was incredibly great. The constable d'Albert, and seven princes of the blood were slain: five princes were taken prisoners, together with fourteen thousand persons of different ranks; and above ten thousand Frenchmen were left dead on the field of battle [6]. Yet this victory, so fatal to France, was more ostentatious than useful to the conquerors, though their loss was very inconsiderable. Henry was obliged to return to England, in order to raise a fresh supply of men and money; and it was not till after an interval of two years, that any body of English troops appeared again in France.

In the mean time France was exposed to all the furies of civil war; and the several parties became every day more enraged against each other. The duke of Burgundy, who had been worsted by his antagonists, attempted to re-instate himself in possession of the government, as well as of the person of the king: and some quarrels in the royal family, enabled him to carry his scheme into execution. Louis Bois-Bourdon, favourite to queen Isabella, after the death of the elder duke of Orleans, having been acused by the count d'Armagnac of a commerce of gallantry with that princess, had been put to the torture, and afterwards thrown into the Seine, in consequence of his forced but indiscreet confession. The queen herself was sent to Tours, and confined under a guard. After suffering these multiplied insults, she no longer scrupled to enter into a correspondence with the duke of Burgundy, though hitherto an enemy to that prince; and as her son Charles, the dauphin, was entirely governed by the faction of Armagnac, she extended her animosity even to him, and sought his destruction with the most unrelenting hatred [7]. She had soon an opportunity of rendering her unnatural purpose in some measure effectual.

A. D. 1416.

6. Ibid. 7. St. Remi. Monstrelet.

 The

The duke of Burgundy entered France at the head of a great army of Flemings; over-ran most part of the kingdom, and relieved the queen from her confinement. At the same time the duke's partizans raised a commotion in Paris, which always inclined to the Burgundian faction; the person of the king was seized; the dauphin made his

A. D. 1417.

escape with difficulty; great numbers of the Armagnac faction were instantly butchered; the count himself, and many persons of note, were thrown into prison; and the populace, deeming the course of public justice too dilatory, broke open the prisons and put to death that nobleman and all the other noblemen, who were there confined [8].

While France was thus rent in pieces by civil dissensions, Henry V. having recruited his forces and finance, landed in Normandy at the head of twenty-five thousand men, and carried every thing before him.

A. D. 1418.

When the pope's legate attempted to incline him towards peace, he replied, "Do you not see, that God has led me hither as "by the hand? France has no sovereign: I have just pre- "tensions to that kingdom: every thing here is in the ut- "most confusion: no one thinks of resisting me. Can I "have a more sensible proof, that the Being who disposes "of empires has determined to put the crown of France "upon my head [9]?"—Such has ever been the language of force; to which weakness, crawling in the dust, has too often listened with an ear of credulity. Hence conquerors, while alive, have been considered as the sons of gods, and the delegates of Heaven; and after being consigned to that earth which they had desolated, have themselves been exalted into divinities!

But although Henry seemed so full assured of the conquest of France, he was induced by prudential motives to negociate with his enemies. He made at the same time offers of peace to both the French parties; to the queen and the duke

8. Ibid.

9. Juv. des Ursins.

of

of Burgundy, on the one hand, who having poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, carried the appearance of legal authority; and to the dauphin, on the other, who being the rightful heir of the monarchy, was adhered to by all men who paid any regard to the true intereſts of their country. Theſe two parties alſo carried on a continual negociation with each other; and all things ſeemed ſettled to their mutual ſatisfaction, when the duke of Burgundy was ſlain by the dauphin's party during an interview at Monterau. A. D. 1419.

In conſequence of this act of barbarity, and the progreſs of Henry's arms, the queen and the new duke of Burgundy, breathing vengeance for the murder of his father, concluded the famous treaty of Troye, by which the crown of France was transferred to the houſe of Lancaſter. The principle articles were, That the king of England ſhould eſpouſe the princeſs Catherine; that her father, Charles VI. ſhould enjoy, during his life-time, the title and dignity of king of France, that Henry V. ſhould be declared and acknowledged heir of the monarchy, and be entruſted with the preſent adminiſtration of the government; that all the princes, peers, vaſſals, and communities of France, ſhould ſwear, that they would both adhere to the future ſucceſſion of Henry, and pay him preſent obedience as regent; and that this prince ſhould unite his arms to thoſe of the French king and the duke of Burgundy, in order to ſubdue the adherents of Charles the *pretended* dauphin [10]. A. D. 1420.

A few days after the ſigning of this treaty Henry eſpouſed the princeſs Catherine. He carried his father-in-law to Paris; he put himſelf in poſſeſſion of that capital, and he obtained from the parliament and the three eſtates a ratification of the treaty of Troye. He ſupported the duke of Burgundy in procuring a ſentence againſt the murderers of his father; and he turned his arms with ſucceſs againſt the ad-

[1]o. Rymer, vol. ix. St. Remi. Monſtrelet.

herents

herents of the dauphin; who, as he soon as he heard of the treaty of Troye, took on him the style and authority of Regent, and appealed to God and his sword for the maintenance of his title. But, notwithstanding the bravery and fidelity of his officers, Charles saw himself unequal to his enemies in the field; and found it necessary to temporise, and avoid all hazardous actions with a rival who had acquired so manifest a superiority.

A. D. 1421.

To crown all the other prosperities of Henry, his queen was delivered of a son, who was called by his father's name, and whose birth was celebrated by rejoicings no less pompous, or less sincere, at Paris than at London. The infant prince seemed to be universally regarded as the heir of both monarchies. But the glory of Henry, when near its height, was suddenly restrained by the hand of nature, and all his towering projects vanished into air. He was seized with a malady which the surgeons of that age wanted skill to treat with judgment; namely, a fistula, which proved mortal. When he found his end approaching, he sent for his brother the duke of Bedford, the earl of Warwick, and a few more noblemen, whom he had honoured with his confidence. To them he delivered in great composure, his last will with regard to the government of his kingdom and family. He left the regency of France to his eldest brother, the duke of Bedford; that of England to his younger brother, the duke of Gloucester, and the care of his son's person to the earl of Warwick[11].

A. D. 1422.

Henry V. possessed many eminent virtues, and his abilities were equally conspicuous in the cabinet and the field. The boldness of his plans was no less remarkable than his personal valour in carrying them into execution. He had the talent of attaching his friends by affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. His exterior figure,

11. Ibid.

as well as his deportment, was engaging; his ſtature somewhat above the middle-ſize; his countenance beautiful, his proportions elegant; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exerciſes [12].

In leſs than two months after Henry's death, his father-in-law, Charles VI. of France terminated his unhappy life. He had for many years poſſeſſed only the ſhadow of royalty; yet was this mere appearance of conſiderable advantage to the Engliſh: it divided the duty and affections of the French between the king and the dauphin, who was now crowned at Poictiers, under the name of Charles VII. Rheims, the uſual place of ſuch ceremony, being then in the hands of his enemies.

Catherine of France, widow of Henry V. married ſoon after his death Sir Owen Tudor, a gentleman of Wales, ſaid to be deſcended from the ancient princes of that country. She bore him two ſons; the eldeſt of whom was created earl of Richmond, the ſecond earl of Pembroke. The family of Tudor, firſt raiſed to diſtinction by this alliance, afterward mounted, as we ſhall have occaſion to ſee, the throne of England.

12. T. Livii.

LETTER XLVI.

The Affairs of FRANCE *and* ENGLAND *continued, from the Acceſſion of* CHARLES VII. *to the Expulſion of the* ENGLISH *from their Continental Territories, in* 1453.

IN conſidering with a ſuperficial eye, the ſtate of affairs between France and England at the acceſſion of Charles VII. every advantage ſeems to lie on the ſide of the latter kingdom; and the total expulſion of Charles appears

pears an event which might naturally be expected from the superior power of his competitor. Though Henry VI. was yet in his infancy, the duke of Bedford, the most accomplished prince of his age, was intrusted with the administration. And the experience, prudence, valour, and generosity of the regent, qualified him for his high office, and enabled him both to maintain union among his friends, and to gain the confidence of his enemies. But Charles VII. notwithstanding the present inferiority of his power, possessed some advantages which promised him success. As he was the true and undoubted heir of the monarchy, all Frenchmen who knew the interests, or desired the independency of their native country, turned their eyes towards him as its sole resource: and Charles himself was of a character well calculated to become the object of these benevolent sentiments. He was a prince of the most friendly and benign disposition; of easy and familiar manners; and of a just and sound, though not a very vigorous understanding. Sincere, generous, affable, he engaged from affection the services of his followers, even while his low fortune might have made it their interest to desert him; and the lenity of his temper could pardon those sallies of discontent, to which princes in his situation are naturally exposed. The love of pleasure often seduced him into indolence; but, amid all his irregularities, the goodness of his heart still shone forth: and by exerting, at intervals, his courage and activity, he proved that his general remissness proceeded neither from the want of ambition nor of personal valour [1].

Sensible of these advantages on the side of Charles, the duke of Bedford took care to strengthen the English interest by fresh alliances with the dukes of Burgundy and Britany; and observing the ardour of the Scots to serve in France, where Charles treated them with great honour and distinction, he persuaded the English coun-

A. D. 1423.

1. P. Æmil. Du Tillet. Le Gendre.

cil to form an alliance with James I. their prisoner; to free that prince from his long captivity, and to connect him with England, by marrying him to a daughter of the earl of Somerset, and cousin to the young king. The alliance was accordingly formed: James was restored to the throne of his ancestors; and proved, during his short reign, one of the most illustrious princes that had ever swayed the Scottish sceptre. His affections inclined to the party of France; but the English had never reason, while he lived, to complain of any breach of the neutrality by Scotland. He was murdered by his traiterous kinsman the earl of Athol, in 1437.

Bedford, however, was not so much employed in negociations, as to neglect the operations of war. He reduced almost every fortress on this side of the Loire; and the battle of Verneuil, in which the Scots and French were defeated, threatened Charles with the total loss of his kingdom, when a train of singular circumstances saved him on the brink of ruin, and lost the English such an opportunity of completing their conquests as they were never afterwards able to recall. A. D. 1424.

Instead of taking any possible advantage of the victory gained at Verneuil, or those which he wished, and could not fail to see, the duke of Bedford was obliged to go over to England, in order to compose some dissensions among the ministry, and to endeavour to moderate the measures of his brother, the duke of Gloucester, who had inconsiderately kindled a war in the Low Countries, and carried thither the troops destined for the reinforcement of the English army in France. The affections of the duke of Burgundy were alienated, and his forces diverted by the same war. The duke of Britany returned to his allegiance under Charles VII. The French had leisure to recollect themselves, and gained some inconsiderable advantages. But the regent, soon after his return, retrieved the reputation of the English arms, by humbling the A. D. 1425. A. D. 1426.

the duke of Britany, and refolved on an undertaking which he hoped would prepare the way for the final conqueft of France.

The city of Orleans was fo fituated between the provinces commanded by Henry, and thofe poffeffed by Charles, that it opened an eafy entrance to either; and as the duke of Bedford intended to make a great effort for penetrating into the fouth of France, it was neceffary to begin with the fiege

A. D. 1428.

of this place, now become the moft important in the kingdom. The French king ufed every expedient to fupply the city with a garrifon and provifions, and the Englifh left no method unemployed for reducing it. The eyes of all Europe were turned towards this fcene of action, where it was reafonably fuppofed the French were to make their laft ftand for maintaining the independency of their monarchy, and the rights of their fovereign. After numberlefs feats of valour, performed both by the befiegers and the befieged, the attack was fo vigoroufly pufhed by the Englifh, although the duke of Burgundy had withdrawn his troops in difguft, that Charles gave over the city for loft; and even entertained thoughts of retiring into Languedoc and Dauphiny with the remains of his forces, which were infufficient to attempt the enemy's entrenchments, and of defending himfelf as long as poffible in thefe remote provinces [2].

But it was fortunate for that gay prince, who lay entirely under the dominion of the fofter fex, that the women whom he confulted on this occafion had the fpirit to fupport his

A. D. 1429.

finking refolution. Mary of Anjou, his queen, a princefs of great merit and prudence, vehemently oppofed fuch a meafure; which fhe forefaw would difcourage all his partizans, and ferve as a general fignal for deferting a prince who feemed himfelf to defpair of fuccefs. His miftrefs, too, the fair Agnes Soreille, who lived in per-

2. Monftrelet. Polyd. Virg. Stow. Hall. Holingfhed.

fect amity with the queen, seconded all her remonstrances, and threatened, if he thus pusillanimously threw away the sceptre of France, that she would seek in the court of England a fortune more correspondent to her wishes. Love was able to rouse, in the breast of Charles, that courage which ambition had failed to excite. He resolved to dispute every inch of ground with an imperious enemy; to perish with honour, in the midst of his friends, rather than yield ingloriously to his bad fortune[3]. And this resolution was no sooner formed than relief was unexpectedly brought him, by another female of a very different character.

In the village of Domremi near Vaucouleurs, on the borders of Lorrain, lived a country girl, whose name was Joan d'Arc; and who, in the humble station of servant at an inn, had been accustomed to tend the horses of the guests; to ride them without a saddle to the watering-place, and to perform other offices which commonly fall to the share of men servants. This girl, inflamed by the frequent accounts of the rencounters at the siege of Orleans, and affected with the distresses of her country, but more especially with those of the youthful monarch, whose gallantry made him the idol of the whole sex, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to her sovereign in his present unhappy circumstances. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations; and she fancied that she saw visions, and heard voices exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and expel the foreign invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of spirit made her overlook all the dangers which might attend her in such a path; and the apprehension of her divine mission dispelled all that bashfulness so natural to her sex, her years, and her low condition. She went to Vaucouleurs, procured admission to Baudricourt the governor, and informed him of her inspirations and intentions.

3. Ibid.

Baudricourt

Baudricourt obſerved ſomething extraordinary in the maid, or ſaw the uſe that might be made of ſuch an engine, and ſent her to the French court, which then reſided at Chinon [4].

Joan was no ſooner introduced to the king than ſhe offered, in the name of the Supreme Creator, to raiſe the ſiege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, to be there crowned and anointed: and ſhe demanded, as the inſtrument of her future victories, a particular ſword which was kept in the church of St. Catharine de Fierbois. The more the king and his miniſters were determined to give into the illuſion, the more ſcruples they pretended. An aſſembly of grave and learned divines was appointed to examine Joan's miſſion, and pronounced it undoubted and ſupernatural; the parliament alſo atteſted her inſpiration; and a jury of matro s declared her an unſpotted virgin. Her requeſts were now granted. She was armed cap-à-pie, mounted on horſeback, and ſhewn in that martial habiliment to the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her ſteed, though acquired in her former ſtation, was regarded as a freſh proof of her miſſion; her former occupation was even denied; ſhe was converted in to a ſhepherdeſs, an employment more agreeable to the imagination than that of an oſtler-wench. Some years were ſubtracted from her age, in order to excite ſtill more admiration; and ſhe was received with the loudeſt acclamations, by perſons of all ranks [5]. A ray of hope began to break through that cloud of deſpair in which the minds of men were involved. Heaven had now declared itſelf in favour of France, and laid bare its out-ſtretched arm to take vengeance on her invaders.

The Engliſh at firſt affected to ſpeak with deriſion of the Maid and her heavenly commiſſion; but their imagination was ſecretly ſtruck with the ſtrong perſuaſion, which prevailed in all around them. They found their courage daunted by degrees, and thence began to infer a divine ven-

4. Hall. Monſtrelet. 5. Ibid.

geance hanging over them. A ſilent aſtoniſhment reigned among thoſe troops, formerly ſo elated with victory, and ſo fierce for the combat. The Maid entered the city of Orleans at the head of a convoy, arrayed in her military garb, and diſplaying her conſecrated ſtandard. She was received as a celeſtial deliverer by the garriſon and inhabitants; and by the inſtructions of count Dunois, commonly called the baſtard of Orleans, who commanded in the place, ſhe actually obliged the Engliſh to raiſe the ſiege of that city, after driving them from their entrenchments, and defeating them in ſeveral deſperate attacks[6].

The raiſing of the ſiege of Orleans was one part of the Maid's promiſe to Charles; the crowning him at Rheims was the other; and ſhe now vehemently inſiſted, that he ſhould ſet out immediately on that journey. A few weeks before, ſuch a propoſal would have appeared altogether extravagant. Rheims lay in a diſtant quarter of the kingdom; was then in the hands of a victorious enemy; the whole road that led to it was occupied by their garriſons; and no imagination could have been ſo ſanguine as to hope that ſuch an attempt could poſſibly be carried into execution. But as things had now taken a turn, and it was extremely the intereſt of the king of France to maintain the belief of ſomething extraordinary and divine in theſe events, he reſolved to follow the exhortations of his warlike propheteſs, and avail himſelf of the preſent conſternation of the Engliſh. He accordingly ſet out for Rheims, at the head of twelve thouſand men, and ſcarcely perceived, as he paſſed along, that he was marching through an enemy's country. Every place opened its gates to him: Rheims ſent him its keys; and the ceremony of his inauguration was performed with the holy oil, which a pigeon is ſaid to have brought from heaven to Clovis, on the firſt eſtabliſhment of the French monarchy[7].

Charles, thus crowned and anointed, became more re-

6. Monſtrelet. Villar. 7. Ibid.

reſpectable in the eyes of all his ſubjects: and he ſeemed to derive, from a heavenly commiſſion, a new title to their allegiance. Many places ſubmitted to him immediately after his coronation, and the whole nation was diſpoſed to give him the moſt zealous teſtimonies of duty and affection.

A. D. 1430.

The duke of Bedford, in this dangerous criſis, employed every reſource which fortune had yet left him. He acted with ſo much prudence and addreſs, as to renew his alliance with the duke of Burgundy, who had been long wavering in his fidelity. He ſeemed preſent every where, by his vigilance and foreſight; and although his ſupplies from England were very inconſiderable, he attempted to reſtore the courage of his troops by boldly advancing to face the enemy. But he choſe his poſts with ſo much caution, as always to decline a combat, and to render it impoſſible for the French monarch to attack him. He ſtill attended that prince in all his movements, covered his own towns and garriſons, and kept himſelf in a poſture to reap advantage from every imprudence or falſe ſtep of the enemy. He alſo endeavoured to revive the declining ſtate of his affairs, by bringing over the young king of England, and having him crowned and anointed at Paris. All the vaſſals of the crown, who lived within the provinces poſſeſſed by the Engliſh ſwore a new allegiance, and did homage to Henry VI[8]. But this ceremony was cold and inſipid, in compariſon of the coronation of Charles at Rheims; and the duke of Bedford expected more effect from an incident, which put into his hands the author of all his misfortunes.

The *Maid of Orleans*, as ſhe is called, declared, after the coronation of Charles, that her miſſion was now accompliſhed, and expreſſed her inclination to retire to the occupations and courſe of life which became her ſex. But Dunois, ſenſible of the great advantages which might ſtill be reaped

8. Rymer, vol. x.

from her presence in the army, exhorted her to persevere till the final expulsion of the English. In pursuance of this advice, she threw herself into the town of Compeigne, at that time besieged by the duke of Burgundy, assisted by the earls of Arundel and Suffolk. The garrison on her appearance believed themselves invincible. But their joy was of short duration. The Maid was taken prisoner in a sally; and the duke of Bedford, resolved upon her ruin, ordered her to be tried by an ecclesiastical court for sorcery, impiety, idolatry, and magic. She was found guilty by her ignorant or iniquitous judges, of all these crimes, aggravated by heresy; her revelations were declared to be inventions of the devil to delude the people; and this admirable heroine was cruelly delivered over alive to the flames, and expiated by the punishment of fire, the signal services which she had rendered to her prince and her native country [9]. A. D. 1431.

The English affairs, however, instead of being advanced by this act of cruelty, went every day more and more to decay. The great abilities of the regent were unable to restrain the strong inclination which had seized the French of returning under the obedience of their rightful sovereign. The duke of Burgundy deserted the English interest, and formed an alliance with the French king: the duke of Bedford died soon after, and the violent factions which prevailed in the court of England, between the duke of Gloucester and the cardinal of Winchester, prevented the nation from taking proper measures for repairing these signal losses. A. D. 1435.

In proportion as Henry advanced in years, his feeble character became more fully known in the court, and was no longer ambiguous to either faction. Of the most harmless, inoffensive, simple manners, but of the most slender capacity, he was fitted, both by the softness of his temper, and the

9. Polyd. Virg. Monstrelet.

weakness of his understanding, to be perpetually governed by those who surrounded him; and it was easy to foresee that his reign would prove a perpetual minority. As he had now reached the age of manhood, it was natural to think of chusing him a queen: and each party was ambitious of making him receive one from their hand, as it was probable this circumstance would decide for ever the victory between them. The cardinal of Winchester proved successful; and Henry was contracted to Margaret of Anjou, daughter of Regnier, titular king of Sicily, Naples, and Jerusalem, descended from a count of Anjou, who had left these magnificent titles to his posterity, without any real power or possessions. She was the most accomplished princess of that age both in body and mind; and seemed to possess those qualities, which would enable her to acquire an ascendant over Henry, and to supply all his defects and weaknesses. The treaty of marriage was ratified in England: and Margaret, on her arrival, fell immediately into close connections with the cardinal and his party; who, fortified by her powerful patronage, resolved on the final ruin of the duke of Gloucester [10].

A. D. 1442.

A. D. 1443.

This generous prince, worsted in all court intrigues for which his temper was not suited, but possessing in an eminent degree the favour of the public, had already received from his rivals a cruel mortification; which it was impossible a person of his spirit could ever forgive, although he had hitherto borne it, without violating public peace. His duchess the daughter of Richard lord Cobham, had been accused of the crime of witchcraft; and it was pretended, that there was found in her possession a waxen figure of the king, which she and her associates, sir Roger Bolingbroke, a priest, and one Mary Jordan of Eye, melted in a magical manner before a slow fire, with an intention of making Henry's force and vigour waste away by the like insensible degrees. The

10. Grafton. Hollingshed.

nature

nature of this crime, as the philosophic Hume ingeniously observes, so opposite to all common sense, seems always to exempt the accusers from observing the rules of common sense in their evidence. The prisoners were pronounced guilty: the duchess was condemned to do public penance, and to suffer perpetual imprisonment; and her supposed accomplices were executed. But the people, contrary to their usual practice on such marvellous trials, acquitted the unhappy sufferers, and ascribed these violent proceedings solely to the malice of the duke's enemies. The cardinal of Winchester and his party, therefore, became sensible that it was necessary to destroy a man whose popularity made him dangerous, and whose resentment they had so much cause to apprehend. He was accused of treason, and thrown into prison, where he was soon after found dead in bed; and although his body bore no marks of outward violence, no one doubted but he had fallen a victim to the vengeance of his enemies [11]. A. D. 1447.

While England was thus a prey to faction, the king of France employed himself, with great industry and judgment, in removing those numberless ills, to which France had been so long exposed, from the continuance of wars both foreign and domestic. He restored the regular course of public justice; he introduced order into the finances; he established discipline among his troops; he repressed faction in his court; he revived the languid state of agriculture, and the arts; and in the course of a few years, rendered his kingdom flourishing within itself, and formidable to its neighbours. The English were expelled from all their possessions on the continent, except Calais; and although no peace or truce was yet concluded between the two nations, the war was in a manner at an end [12]. England, torn in pieces by civil dissensions, made but one more A. D. 1453.

11. Grafton. Stowe. Hollingshed.
12. Monstrelet. Henault. Grafton. Hollingshed.

feeble effort for the recovery of Guienne. And Charles occupied at home in regulating the government of his kingdom, and fencing against the intrigues of his son Lewis, scarcely ever attempted to avail himself of her intestine broils. The affairs of the two kingdoms therefore became for a while distinct. But before I carry farther the history of either, we must take a view of the state of the German empire, from the death of Sigismund to the accession of Maximilian.

LETTER XLVII.

The GERMAN EMPIRE *and its Dependencies,* ROME *and the* ITALIAN STATES, *from the Death of* SIGISMUND *to the Accession of* MAXIMILIAN.

SIGISMUND, my dear Philip, was succeeded in the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, and also in the empire, as I have already observed, by his son-in-law, Albert II. duke of Austria. The only enterprize of moment, in which this prince was engaged during his short reign, was an expedition against the Turks in Bulgaria, where he was seized with a violent dysentery, before any action took place, and died at the village of Long, in his return to Vienna [1].

A. D. 1438.

A. D. 1439.

Albert was succeeded in the imperial throne by his cousin Frederic of Austria, the third emperor of that name. The kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia were settled on Ladislaus, Albert's infant son, who was committed to the guardianship of Frederic.

The emperor's first care was to heal a schism, which had

1. Heiss, liv. iii. chap. i.

rent anew the church. With this view he set out for Basil, where a council was assembled for "the reforma- "tion of the church universal, both in its head "and its members," conformable to a resolution of the council of Constance: and that council had raised to the papacy Amadeus duke of Savoy, under the name of Felix V. in opposition to Eugenius IV. who had attempted to defeat the purpose of their meeting. Frederic exhorted the fathers to concord, and an accommodation with Eugenius. He had also an interview with Felix, whom he refused to acknowledge for pope, though tempted by an offer of his daughter, a young princess of exquisite beauty, and two hundred thousand ducats as her portion. "This man," said Frederic to one of his courtiers, in a contemptuous tone, "would "fain purchase holiness, if he could find a seller." The schism was at length, however, happily closed by the resignation of Felix, who was prevailed upon by the emperor to abdicate the apostolic chair on certain conditions, which were confirmed by Nicholas V. who had succeeded Eugenius[2].

A. D. 1440.

The peace of the church being thus restored, and the affairs of Germany in tolerable order, Frederic began to turn his eyes towards Italy, where the imperial authority was gone to utter decay. Alphonso of Arragon reigned at that time in Naples, and joined the emperor, because he feared the power of the Venetians, who were masters of Ravenna, Bergamo, Brescia, and Cremona. Milan was in the hands of Francis Sforza, a peasant's son, but one of the greatest warriors of his age, and now become the most powerful man in Italy. He had married Blanche Maria, natural daughter of Philip Maria Galeazo, duke of Milan, by whom he was adopted. Florence was in league with the pope against Sforza: the Holy See had recovered Bologna; and

2. Georgii, *Vit. Nichol. V.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Æn. Sylv. *Vit. Fred. III.*

all the other principalities belonged to different ſovereigns, who had maſtered them[3]. In this ſituation were the affairs of Italy, when the emperor reſolved upon a journey to Rome, in order to be crowned by the pope, together with Eleanora, ſiſter of the king of Portugal, to who he was contracted in marriage, and whom he promiſed to meet at Sienna.

A. D. 1451.

As ſood as Frederic had croſſed the Alps, he was met by the Venetian ambaſſadors, who conducted him to their city, where he made his public entry with great magnificence. He thence repaired to Ferrara, where he found ambaſſadors from Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, inviting him to return by that city, where he ſhould receive the iron crown; and here he alſo received deputies from Florence and Bologna, craving the honour of entertaining him at their reſpective cities, which he accordingly viſited[4]. From Florence the emperor took the route of Sienna where he was joined by the princeſs Eleanora. And in that city he gave audience to the pope's legates, who repreſented to him, that, by ancient cuſtom, the emperors always took an oath to the pope before they entered the territories of St. Peter's patrimony; and requeſted, that he would conform to the ſame uſage.

Frederic, in this particular, complied with the deſire of his Holineſs. The oath which he took was conceived in theſe terms: "I Frederic king of the Romans, promiſe and ſwear, "by the Father, Son, and Holy Ghoſt, by the wood of the "vivifying croſs, and by theſe reliques of ſaints, that if, by "permiſſion of the Lord, I ſhall come to Rome, I will exalt "the holy Roman Church, and his Holineſs, who preſides "over it, to the utmoſt of my power. Neither ſhall he loſe "life, limb, or honour, by my counſel, conſent, or exhortation. Nor will I, in the city of Rome, make any law or "decree touching thoſe things which belong to his Holineſs or the Romans, without the advice of our moſt holy

3. *Annal. de l'Emp.* tom. ii.

4. Machiavel, *Hiſt. Flor.* lib. vi.

"lord

"lord Nicholas. Whatever part of St. Peter's Patrimony "ſhall fall into our hands, we will reſtore it to his Holineſs; "and he, to whom we ſhall commit the adminiſtration of "our kingdom of Italy, ſhall ſwear to aſſiſt his Holineſs in "defending St. Peter's Patrimony to the utmoſt of his power. "So help me God, and his holy Evangeliſts[5]."

The emperor now proceeded to Viterbo, where he was in danger of his life from a tumult of the populace; ſo indifferently attended was this ſucceſſor of Charlemagne!—From Viterbo he repaired to Rome, where he was met by the whole college of cardinals; and as it had been cuſtomary for the late emperor, who went thither to be crowned, to continue ſome time without the walls, Frederic ordered tents to be pitched, and there paſſed one night. He made his public entry next day, when he was crowned king of Lombardy, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of the deputies of Milan; he not chuſing to put himſelf in the power of Sforza, who was maſter of that city, and which properly belonged to the empire, the laſt duke having died without legitimate iſſue. Three days after this ceremony, he was married to Eleanora, and together with her received the imperial crown. The emperor and the pope next ratified the Concordata of the German nation, touching the collation to prelacies and other benefices, which had ſome years before been agreed to by cardinal Carvajal, Nicholas's legate at the imperial court[6]. A. D. 1452.

Having thus tranſacted matters at Rome, Frederic ſet out on his return to Germany; and in his paſſage through Ferrara was waited upon by Borſi, marquis of Eſte, a prince of extraordinary merit, whom he created duke of Modena and Reggio[7]. On his arrival in Auſtria, he found himſelf involved in a number of difficulties, out of which he was never able fully to extricate himſelf.

The Hungarians had often entreated Frederic to ſend

5. Fugger. lib. v. 6. Barre, tom. vii. Neucler. ſub. ann. 7. Id. ibid.

home

home their king Ladislaus, whom he still detained at the imperial court, under pretext of being guardian to that young prince: and they had, by the most earnest and repeated instances, besought him to restore their crown and regalia, which were in his custody. But he found means, under various pretences to postpone his compliance with these demands. The Austrians, joined by a number of Bohemians, and encouraged by several princes of the empire, also sent a deputation to expostulate with Frederic on the same subject; and as he lent a deaf ear to their request likewise, and amused them with fresh evasions, they had recourse to arms, and compelled him to sign an accommodation. It was agreed, That Ladislaus, being yet of too tender years to take upon himself the government of his kingdoms, should be put under the tuition of Ulric count Celley, his uncle by the mother's side, and that the dispute touching the wardship of the emperor should be determined at Vienna [8].

Count Celley's ambition was elated by the power which he derived from being tutor to Lidislaus. He attempted to make himself absolute master in Austria: he secured the principal fortresses, by giving the command of them to his creatures; and he gradually removed Elsinger, a Bohemian gentleman, who had headed the insurrection, and the Austrian nobility, from all offices of importance. His friends and favourites only were trusted. The people were incensed at such proceedings; and Elsinger, profiting by their discontent, roused their resentment to such a degree, that the count was obliged to retire into Hungary, after having delivered up the person of Ladislaus, who consented to take the oath imposed upon him by the Bohemians, and was crowned with great solemnity at Prague [9].

A. D. 1453.

During these contests the city of Constantinople was taken by the Turks, after they had subdued the rest of Greece; and by this blow the Roman empire in the East was utterly

8. Æn. Sylv. *Hist. Boem.*

9. Id. ibid.

annihilated,

annihilated, as ſhall be related more at length in its proper place. Here it is only neceſſary to obſerve, that the progreſs of the Mahometans alarmed all the princes of Chriſtendom, and made them think of uniting, though too late, in order to oppoſe the common enemy. A diet was convoked at Ratiſbon on this ſubject, and the members unanimouſly agreed, That there was a neceſſity for taking ſome ſpeedy meaſures to ſtop the progreſs of the Infidels. But what theſe meaſures ſhould be, was a conſideration referred to another diet aſſembled at Frankfort: where, although there was a vaſt concourſe of princes, and great appearance of zeal, very little was done for the common cauſe. Other diets were afterwards held for the ſame purpoſe, but with no better ſucceſs; a backwardneſs which was chiefly owing to the timid and ſlothful diſpoſition of the emperor, who would never heartily embark in the undertaking[10].

A. D. 1455.

The German princes however, at the ſolicitation of Carvajal, the pope's legate, ſent a body of troops to the aſſiſtance of John Hunniades, a famous Hungarian general, who had long gallantly defended his country againſt the Turks, and gained ſeveral advantages over them. Hunniades, thus reinforced, marched to the relief of Belgrade, which was beſieged by Mahomet II. the conqueror of Conſtantinople, and the terror of Chriſtendom; and compelled the ſultan, after an obſtinate engagement, to raiſe the ſiege, and retreat with the loſs of four thouſand men, left dead on the ſpot[11]. But the death of Hunniades, which happened a few days after the battle, prevented the Chriſtian army from making any progreſs againſt the Infidels. The fruits of their victory, and their future projects, periſhed with their illuſtrious leader.

A. D. 1456.

In the mean time Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia died, and various competitors aroſe for thoſe crowns, as

10. Æn. Sylv. *Europ.*

11. Id. ibid.

well as for the dominions of Upper Auſtria, which belonged to that prince. Among theſe was the
A. D. 1457. emperor Frederic III. who reaped nothing but damage and diſgrace from a civil war which deſolated Germany for many years, but which was productive of no event that merits attention. His ſon Maximilian was more fortunate, and better deſerved ſucceſs.

This young prince, who was as active and enterpriſing as his father was indolent and timid, married, at twenty years of age, the only daughter of Charles the Bold, duke of Burgundy. She brought him Flanders, Franche-Comtè, and all the Low Countries. Lewis XI. who diſputed ſome of theſe territories, and who, on the death of the duke, had ſeized Burgundy, Picardy, Ponthieu, and Artois, as fiefs of France, which could not be poſſeſſed by a woman, was
A. D. 1492. defeated by Maximilian at Guinegaſte; and Charles VIII. who renewed the ſame claims, was obliged to conclude a diſadvantageous peace [12].

About this time died Caſimir IV. king of Poland, and father of Uladiſlaus, who now reigned over Hungary and Bohemia. The death of the Poliſh monarch had been preceded by that of pope Innocent VIII. who was ſucceeded in the papacy by Roderic Borgia, under the name of Alexander VI. Nor did the emperor Frederic III. long ſurvive theſe alterations. He died in the ſeventy-ninth
A. D. 1495. year of his age, and the fifty-fourth of his reign. No emperor had ever reigned longer, and none leſs glorioully.

The reign of Maximilian, already elected king of the Roman, introduces a more intereſting period than that over which we have now travelled, and opens a viſta into ſome of the grandeſt ſcenes of hiſtory. But a variety of objects, my dear Philip, muſt occupy your attention before I carry farther the affairs of the empire.

12. Mezeray, *Chronol. Abreg.* tom. ii.

LET-

LETTER XLVIII.

ENGLAND *during the Contest between the Houses of* YORK *and* LANCASTER, *and till its final Extinction in the Accession of the House of* TUDOR.

I HAVE already had occasion to notice the weakness of Henry VI. His incapacity appeared every day in a stronger light. The more he was known, the more his authority was despised; and as the English had abandoned their dominions in France, and were now engaged in no foreign wars, men of restless and ambitious spirits took occasion to disturb his government, and tear with intestine commotions the bowels of their native country. A. D. 1450.

But the miseries of Henry and of England did not arise solely from these causes: a pretender to the crown appeared; and a title which had never been disputed during the prosperous reign of Henry V. was now called in question under his feeble successor. This competitor was Richard duke of York, descended by his mother from Philippa, only daughter of the duke of Clarence, second son of Edward III. and consequently stood in the order of succession before the king, who derived his descent from the duke of Lancaster, third son of that monarch.

Such a claim could not, in many respects, have fallen into more dangerous hands. The duke of York was a man of valour and abilities, which he had found frequent opportunities of displaying. In the right of his father, the earl of Cambridge, he bore the rank of first prince of the blood: he possessed an immense fortune; and was allied by marriage, or otherwise, to most of the principal families in the kingdom. He was generally beloved by the people; whose discontents, at this time, rendered every combination of the great more dangerous to the throne.

 The

The administration of government was now in the hands of the queen and the earl of Suffolk, who had attracted universal odium. Margaret was still regarded as a French woman, and a latent enemy to the kingdom, who had betrayed the interests of England, in favour of her family and her country. Suffolk was considered as her accomplice; and the murder of the duke of Gloucester, in which both were known to have been concerned, rendered them yet more obnoxous to the nation.

The partizans of the duke of York took advantage of these causes of popular discontent, to impeach the earl of Suffolk in parliament of various crimes and misdemeanours; and the king, in order to save his minister, banished him the kingdom for five years. But his enemies, sensible that he still possessed the queen's confidence, and would be recalled on the first favourable opportunity, employed a captain of a ship to intercept him in his passage to France. He was accordingly seized near Dover; his head was struck off on the side of a long-boat, and his body thrown into the sea[1].

The duke of Somerset succeeded to Suffolk's power in the administration, and credit with the queen: and as he was the person under whose government the French provinces had been lost, the people, who always judge by events, soon made him equally the object of their animosity. In consequence of these discontents, the house of commons presented a petition to the king, praying him to remove the duke of Somerset for ever from his person and counsels; and as Henry fell about this time into a distemper which increased his natural imbecility, the queen and the council, unable to resist the popular party, were obliged to yield to the torrent. They sent Somerset to the Tower, and appointed the duke of York lieutenant of the kingdom, with powers to open and hold a session of parliament: and that assembly created him Protector during pleasure[2].

A. D. 1451.

1. Hall. Stowe. Contin. *Hist. Croyland.*
2. *Parl. Hist.* vol. ii. Rymer, vol. xi.

In

In the mean time Henry recovering from his distemper so far as to be able to maintain the appearance of royal authority, his friends urged him to resume the government; and to annul the regency of Richard, to release Somerset from the Tower, and to commit the administration into the hands of that nobleman. The duke of York, sensible of his danger, levied an army, in order to support his parliamentary commission, but without advancing any pretensions to the crown, though his title was generally acknowledged. A battle was fought near St. Alban's, where the Lancastrians were routed, and the dukes of Somerset and Northumberland slain. The king himself was made prisoner by the duke of York, who treated him with great tenderness: and Henry was obliged to resign (what he valued little) the whole authority of the crown into the hands of his rival [3]. A. D. 1455.

Richard, however, did not yet lay claim to the royalty; he was still content with the title of Protector; and an outward reconciliation took place between the parties. A solemn procession to St. Paul's was appointed, in order to make known this amity to the people. The duke of York led queen Margaret; and a chieftain of one party marched hand in hand with a chieftain of the opposite. But a contest for a crown could not be thus peaceably accommodated. Each party watched only for an opportunity of subverting the other; and the smallest incident, without any formed design, was sufficient to dissolve the seeming harmony. Two servants of the rival houses quarrelled: their companions took part in the fray; a fierce combat ensued; and both parties, in every county in England, openly made preparations for deciding the contest by arms [4]. A. D. 1458.

A battle was fought at Blore-heath, on the borders of Staffordshire; where the Lancastrians were defeated, and chased off the field with considerable loss. But that victory was not sufficient to decide the fate of A. D. 1459.

3. Stowe. Hall. Hollingshed. 4. Fabian. *Chron.* See also Grafton.

England;

England; and fortune soon shifted sides. When the two armies approached each other near Ludlow, and a general action was every hour expected, Sir Andrew Trollop, who commanded a choice body of veterans, deserted to the king; and the Yorkists were so much dismayed at that instance of treachery, which made every man suspicious of his fellow, that they separated without striking a blow[5].

In this extremity the duke of York fled to Ireland, where he had formerly acquired much popularity; and his partizans in England kept themselves every where in readiness, to rise on the first summons from their leaders. That summons was given by the earl of Warwick, governor of Calais, the most extraordinary man of his time; and, from the subsequent events, commonly known by the appellation of the *King-maker*. He landed in Kent, where he was joined by several persons of distinction; and as the people bore him an unlimited affection, his army increased every day. He entered London amid the acclamations of the populace: he advanced to meet the royal army, which hastened from Coventry to attack him; and a battle was fought at Northampton, where the Lancastrians were totally routed. Henry himself, that empty shadow of a king, was again made prisoner, and once more carried in triumph to his capital[6].

A. D. 1460.

A parliament was now summoned at Westminster, where the duke of York soon appeared from Ireland, and put in his claim to the crown. He advanced towards the throne; and addressing himself to the house of peers, pleaded his cause before them as his natural and legal judges. He gave them a deduction of his title by descent; mentioned the cruelties by which the house of Lancaster had paved its way to sovereign power; insisted on the calamities which had attended the government of Henry; and exhorted them to return to the right path, by doing justice to the lineal heir;

5. Grafton. Hall. Hollingshed. 6. Ibid.

then

then reſpectfully left the houſe, as no one deſired him to ſeat himſelf on the throne.

Such a degree of moderation is not perhaps to be paralleled in hiſtory; and was little to be expected in thoſe violent and licentious times, from a prince who had a victorious army at his command. The peers, on their part, diſcovered an equal ſhare of firmneſs and compoſure. They called in ſome of the moſt conſiderable members among the commons to aſſiſt in their deliberations: and after having heard, in ſeveral ſucceſſive days, the reaſons alledged for the duke of York, they declared his title certain and indefeaſible; but in conſideration that Henry had enjoyed the crown, without diſpute or controverſy, during a courſe of years, they determined that he ſhould continue to poſſeſs the title and dignity of king during the remainder of his life; that the adminiſtration of government, in the meanwhile, ſhould remain with Richard, and that he ſhould be acknowledged the true and lawful heir of the monarchy. The duke acquieſced in this deciſion; and Henry himſelf, being a priſoner, could not well oppoſe it[7].

The duke of York, however, enjoyed but a ſhort while the honour of this new ſettlement, and never attained the envied title of king. After the unfortunate battle of Northampton, queen Margaret had fled with her infant ſon to Durham, and thence to Scotland; but ſoon returning, ſhe applied to the northern barons, and employed every argument to procure their aſſiſtance. Her affability, inſinuation, and addreſs, talents in which ſhe excelled, aided by careſſes and promiſes, wrought a powerful effect on all who approached her. The admiration of her great qualities was ſucceeded by compaſſion towards her helpleſs condition. The nobility

7. *Parl. Hiſt.* vol. ii. Cotton. Grafton. Hollingſhed. The account of this revolution as here given, and generally received, is contradicted in ſome pariticulars by J. Wethamſtede, abbot of St. Albans. But a ſingle authority, how reſpectable ſoever, is not ſufficient to overthrow univerſal teſtimony.

of that quarter entered warmly into her cause; and she soon found herself at the head of an army of twenty thousand men, collected with a celerity which was neither expected by her friends nor apprehended by her enemies.

In the meantime, the duke of York hastened northward with a body of five thousand men, to suppress, as he imagined, the beginnings of an insurrection. He met the queen near Wakefield; and though he found himself so much outnumbered by the enemy, his pride would not permit him to fly before a woman[8]. He gave battle, was killed

Dec 24. in the action; and his body being found among the slain, his head was cut off by Margaret's orders, and fixed on the gates of York, with a paper crown upon it in derision of his pretended title. His second son, the earl of Rutland, was taken prisoner, and barbarously murdered in cool blood by lord Clifford, in revenge of the death of his father, who had fallen in the battle of St. Alban's. The earl of Salisbury also was taken prisoner, and immediately beheaded, with several other persons of distinction[9]. This inhuman practice, thus begun, was continued by both parties from a vindictive spirit, which affected to conceal its enormity under the pretence of retaliation.

Immediately after this important victory queen Margaret marched towards London, where the earl of Warwick was left with the command of the Yorkists. On the approach of the Lancastrians, that nobleman led out his army, reinforced by a strong body of Londoners, and gave battle to

A. D. 1461. the queen at St. Alban's. Margaret was again victorious, by the treachery of one Lovelace, who commanded a considerable body of the Yorkists, and withdrew from the combat. She had the pleasure of seeing the formidable Warwick fly before her, and of rescuing the king her husband from captivity.

But Margaret's triumph, though glorious, was of short

9. Polyd. Virg. Hollingshed. Stowe. Contin. *Hist. Croyland.*

dura-

duration, and not altogether complete. Warwick was ſtill in poſſeſſion of London, on which ſhe made an unſucceſsful attempt; and Edward earl of Marche, eldeſt ſon of the late duke of York, having gained an advantage over the Lancaſtrians at Mortimer's Croſs, near Hereford, advanced upon her from the other ſide, and was ſoon in a condition to give her battle with ſuperior forces. She was ſenſible of her danger, in ſuch a ſituation, and retreated with her army to the North; while Edward entered the capital amid the acclamations of the citizens, and immediately opened a new ſcene to his party.

This young prince, who was remarkable for the beauty of his perſon, for his bravery, his activity, his affability, and every popular quality, found himſelf ſo high in public favour, that he reſolved no longer to confine himſelf within thoſe narrow limits which had been found by experience ſo prejudicial to his father's cauſe. He determined to aſſume the name and dignity of king; to inſiſt openly on his claim, and thenceforth to treat the oppoſite party as traitors and rebels to his lawful authority. But a national conſent, or the appearance of it at leaſt, ſeemed neceſſary to precede ſo bold a meaſure; and for this purpoſe, inſtead of convening a parliament, which might have been attended with dangerous conſequences, the populace were aſſembled in St. John's Fields. An harangue was pronounced to this mixed multitude by Warwick, ſetting forth the title of Edward, and inveighing againſt the tyranny and uſurpation of the houſe of Lancaſter; after which the people were aſked, whether they would have Henry or Edward for their king. They univerſally exclaimed, "Edward of York!" This popular election was ratified by an aſſembly of lords and biſhops, and the new king was proclaimed under the title of Edward IV [10].

Young Edward, now in his twentieth year, was of a temper well fitted to make his way through ſuch a ſcene of

10. Wethamſtede. Hall. Stowe.

war, havock, and devaſtation, as was preſented before him. He was not only bold, active, and enterpriſing; but his hardneſs of heart, and ſeverity of character, rendered him impregnable to all thoſe movements of compaſſion, which might relax his vigour in the proſecution of the moſt bloody deſigns upon his enemies. Hence the ſcaffold, as well as the field, during this reign, inceſſantly ſmoked with the nobleſt blood of England. The animoſity between the two contending families was now become implacable; and the nation, divided in its affections, took different ſymbols of party. The adherents of the houſe of Lancaſter choſe, as their mark of diſtinction, the *Red Roſe*; thoſe of York aſſumed the *White*: and theſe civil wars were thus known over Europe by the name of the "Quarrel between the *Two Roſes*."

Queen Margaret, as I have obſerved, had retired to the North. There great multitudes flocked to her ſtandard; and ſhe was able, in a few weeks, to aſſemble an army of ſixty thouſand men. The king and the earl of Warwick haſtened with an army of forty thouſand, to check her progreſs. The two armies met at Towton, and a fierce and bloody battle enſued. The bow, then commonly in uſe, was ſoon laid aſide, and the ſword decided the combat, which terminated in a total victory on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward iſſued orders to give no quarter; and the routed army was purſued as far as Tadcaſter, with great bloodſhed and confuſion. Above thirty-ſix thouſand men are ſaid to have fallen in the battle and purſuit. Henry and Margaret had remained at York during the action; but learning the defeat of their army, and being ſenſible that no place in England could now afford them ſhelter, they fled with great precipitation into Scotland [11].

I muſt here ſay a few words of the ſtate of that country. The Scots, notwithſtanding the animoſity between the two nations, had never made any vigorous attempts to take advantage either of the wars which England carried on with

11. Ibid.

France,

France, or of the civil commotions which arose from the competition for the crown. James I. who had been long a prisoner in England, and had received his education there, as I have had occasion to notice, avoided all hostilities with foreign nations. He was more laudably employed in civilizing his subjects, and training them to the salutary restraints of law and justice. After the murder of this excellent prince, whose maxims and manners were too refined for the people whom he had to govern, the minority of his son and successor James II. and the distractions incident on it, prevented the Scots from molesting England. But when the quarrel between the rival houses of York and Lancaster was become incurable, unless by the total extinction of one of the parties, James II. who had now risen to man's estate, was tempted to make use of that opportunity, in hopes of recovering those places which the English had conquered from his ancestors. He invested the castle of Roxburgh, and had provided himself with some pieces of cannon in order to forward the siege; but one of them unhappily bursting, as he was firing it, put an end at once to his life and his undertaking. His son and successor James III. was yet a minor; and the disturbances common to minorities ensued in the government. The queen dowager, Anne of Guelders, aspired to the regency; the house of Douglas opposed her pretensions [12]; so that the queen of England, when she arrived in Scotland, found there a people little less divided by faction than those from whom she had fled.

The Scottish council, however, agreed to assist Margaret, on her offering to deliver up to them the important fortress of Berwick, and to contract her son in marriage with a sister of James their king. And Margaret with her northern auxiliaries, and some succours from France, ventured once more to take the field, and to make an inroad into England. But she was able to penetrate no

A. D. 1464.

12. Hall. Cotton.

farther than Hexham. There she was attacked by lord Montacute, brother to the earl of Warwick, and warden of the Marches, who totally routed her motley army[13]. All who were spared in the field suffered on the scaffold.

The fate of the unfortunate royal family, after this overthrow, was equally singular and affecting. Margaret fled with her son into a forest, where she endeavoured to conceal herself, but was beset during the darkness of the night by robbers, who despoiled her of her jewels, and treated her with the utmost indignity. She made her escape however, while they were quarrelling about the booty; and wandered some time with her son in the most unfrequented thickets, spent with hunger and fatigue, and ready to sink beneath the load of terror and affliction. In this wretched condition she was met by a robber with his sword naked in his hand; and seeing no means of escape, she suddenly embraced the bold resolution of trusting entirely to his faith and generosity. "Approach, my friend!"—cried she, presenting to him the young prince!—"to you I commit the safety of your king's "son." Struck with the singularity of the event, and charmed with the confidence reposed in him, the robber became her protector. By his favour she dwelt concealed in the forest, till she found an opportunity to make her escape into Flanders; whence she passed to her father in France, where she lived several years in privacy and retirement[14]. Henry was less fortunate in finding the means of escape. He lay concealed during twelve months in Lancashire; but was at last detected, delivered up to Edward, and thrown into the Tower[15].

A. D. 1465.

The youthful monarch, thus rid of all his enemies, resigned himself freely to those pleasures and amusements which his rank, his time of life, and his natural temper, no less turned for love than war, invited him to enjoy. The cruel and unrelenting Edward lived in the most familiar and

13. Ibid. 14. Monstrelet, tom. iii. 15. Hall. Hollingshed.

social

social manner with his subjects. He was the peculiar favourite of the young and gay of both sexes; and the beauty of his person, as well as the gallantry of his address, which even in the humblest condition, would have rendered him acceptable to the fair, facilitated all his applications for their favour. But it is difficult to confine the ruling passion within the bounds of prudence. The ardent temperament of Edward led him into a snare, which proved fatal to his repose, and to the stability of his throne.

This young king while in the height of dissipation, had resolved to marry, in order to secure his throne by issue, as well as by alliances: and he had cast his eyes on Bona of Savoy, sister to the queen of France. The negotiation was committed to the earl of Warwick, who went over to Paris, where the princess then resided: his proposals were accepted, and the treaty was fully concluded. Nothing remained but the ratification of the terms agreed on, and the bringing of the princess over to England. Meanwhile the charms of lady Elizabeth Gray, one of the finest and most accomplished women of her time, had inflamed the amorous heart of Edward. Her husband, Sir John Gray of Groby, had been slain in the second battle of St. Alban's, fighting on the side of Lancaster, and his estate confiscated; and when the king came accidentally, after a hunting party, to the house of her father, sir Richard Wideville, to whom she had retired, she threw herself at his feet, and entreated him to take pity on her impoverished and helpless children.

The sight of so much beauty in distress strongly affected the susceptible Edward. Love insensibly stole into his heart, under the disguise of compassion. He raised the fair suppliant from the ground with assurances of favour; and as his passion was increased by the winning conversation of Elizabeth, he soon found himself reduced to that posture and style of solicitation which had been so lately her's. But all his solicitations were in vain: she obstinately refused to gratify his passion; and the young and gallant monarch found for once

a virtue which his fondest assiduities could not bend. Inflamed by opposition, and filled with veneration for such honourable sentiments, Edward lost sight of all but love. He offered to share his throne, as well as his heart, with the woman whose beauty of person, and dignity of character, seemed so well to entitle her to both: and the marriage was privately celebrated at her father's seat in Northamptonshire[16].

Warwick, who was still at Paris, no sooner received intelligence of the king's marriage than he returned to England, flaming with rage and indignation, at being employed in a deceitful treaty, and kept a stranger to the intentions of the prince, who owed every thing to his friendship. The king was sensible that Warwick had been ill used; but his pride, or false shame, prevented him from making an apology: and that nobleman was permitted to depart the court in the same hot temper that he came. The advancement of the queen's relations into offices of power and trust, to the exclusion of those of Warwick, whom she regarded as her mortal enemy, heightened his discontent, and made him to resolve to ruin the king he had made.

In order to effect his purpose, Warwick drew over to his interest the duke of Clarence, the king's second brother, by offering him in marriage his eldest daughter, and co-heiress of his immense fortune. Many of the ancient nobility envied the sudden growth of the Widevilles. They associated themselves with Warwick; who finding his own name insufficient, and being chased to France, after some unsuccessful struggles, entered into a league with queen Margaret, his inveterate enemy. On his return to England, he was joined by the whole body of Lancastrians. Both parties now prepared for a general decision by arms; and a decisive action was every moment expected, when Edward, finding himself betrayed by the marquis of Mon-

A. D. 1470.

16. Hall. Grafton.

tague,

tague, and ſuſpicious of his other commanders, ſuddenly abandoned his army, and fled to Holland. Henry VI. was taken from his confinement in the Tower, and placed once more upon the Engliſh throne; and a parliament, called under the influence of Warwick, declared Edward IV. an uſurper[17].

But this revolution was only the effect of the giddineſs of faction. Warwick was no ſooner at the helm of government than his popularity began to decline, though he appears to have been guilty of no unpopular act; ſo fugitive a thing is public favour!—The young king was emboldened to return. He landed at Ravenſpur, as Henry IV. had formerly done, upon a like occaſion; and although he brought with him only two thouſand men, he ſoon found himſelf in a condition to face the earl of Warwick, who had taken poſt at Barnet. The city of London opened its gates to Edward; who thus became at once maſter of his capital and of the perſon of his rival Henry, doomed to be the perpetual ſport of fortune. The arrival of queen Margaret, whoſe preſence would have been of infinite ſervice to her party, was every day expected. In the mean time the duke of Clarence, Warwick's ſon-in-law, deſerted to the king, and carried along with him a body of twelve thouſand men. But Warwick was now too far advanced to retreat; and as he rejected with diſdain all terms of peace offered him by Edward and Clarence, he was obliged to hazard a general engagement. The battle was fought with great obſtinacy on both ſides. The two armies, in imitation of their leaders, diſplayed uncommon acts of valour, and the conteſt for victory remained long undecided; but an accident threw at laſt the balance on the ſide of the Yorkiſts. Edward's cogniſance was a ſun, Warwick's a ſtar with rays; and the miſtineſs of the morning rendering it difficult to diſtinguiſh them, a body of the Lancaſtrians were attacked

A. D. 1471.

17. Stowe. Hall.

by their friends, and driven off the field. Warwick did all that experience, conduct, or valour could suggest, to retrieve the mistake, but in vain. He had engaged on foot that day, contrary to his usual practice, in order to shew his troops, that he was resolved to share every danger with them; and now sensible that all was lost, unless a reverse of fortune could be wrought by some extraordinary effort, he rushed into the thickest of the engagement, and fell, covered with a multitude of wounds. His brother the marquis of Montague, underwent the same fate; and as Edward had issued orders to give no quarter, a great and undistinguished slaughter was made in the pursuit [18].

Queen Margaret and her son prince Edward, now about eighteen years of age, landed from France the same day on which that decisive battle was fought. She had hitherto sustained the shocks of fortune with surprising fortitude; but when she received intelligence of her husband's captivity, and of the defeat and death of the earl of Warwick, her courage failed her, and she took sanctuary in the abbey of Beaulieu, in Hampshire.

Encouraged, however, by the appearance of Tudor, earl of Pembroke, and several other noblemen, who exhorted her still to hope for success, she resumed her former spirit, and determined to assert to the last her claim to the crown of England. She accordingly put herself once more at the head of the army, which increased in every day's march, and advanced through the counties of Devon, Somerset, and Gloucester. But the ardent and expeditious Edward overtook her at Tewksbury, on the banks of the Severn, where the Lancastrians were totally routed and dispersed. Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, and brought to the king, who asked the prince in an imperious tone, how he dared to invade his dominions. "I came hither," replied the undaunted youth, more mindful of his high birth than

18. Grafton. Hall. Contin. *Hist. Croyland.* Phil. de Comines, liv. iii.

his

his present fortune, "to revenge my father's wrongs, and "rescue my just inheritance out of your hands." Incensed at his freedom, instead of admiring the boldness of his spirit, the ungenerous Edward barbarously struck him on the face with his gauntlet; and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, lord Hastings, and sir Thomas Gray, taking this blow as a signal for farther violence, hurried the prince aside, and instantly dispatched him with their daggers. Margaret was thrown into the Tower, where her husband Henry had just expired. Whether he died a natural or violent death is uncertain; though it is generally believed that the duke of Gloucester killed him with his own hand[19].

The hopes of the house of Lancaster being thus extinguished, by the death of every legitimate prince of that family, Edward, who had no longer any enemy that could give him anxiety or alarm, was encouraged once more to indulge himself in pleasure and amusement; and he recovered by his gay humour, and his easy familiar manners, that popularity which must have been in some degree impaired by the cruelties exercised upon his enemies. The example also of his jovial festivity, served to abate the acrimony of faction among his subjects, and to restore the social disposition, which had been so long interrupted between the opposite parties. But although Edward was fond of pleasure, he was not deaf to the calls of ambition; and a projected invasion of France, in order to recover the dominions lost under his predecessor, tended still farther to increase his popularity.

The prospect of a French war has always proved a sure means of uniting the people of England, and of making the members of parliament open their purses. Edward received a considerable supply, and passed over to Calais with an army of fifteen hundred men at arms, and fifteen thousand archers. He was attended by all his chief nobility; who, animated by former successes, were eager to

A. D. 1475.

19. Stowe. Hall.

appear

appear once more on the theatre of honour. But their ardour was damped when they found, on entering the French territories, that their ally, the duke of Burgundy, did not bring them the ſmalleſt aſſiſtance. Tranſported by his fervid temper, that prince had carried his troops to the frontiers of Germany, where they were employed in hoſtilities againſt the duke of Lorrain. Lewis XI. however, alarmed at the preſence of ſo warlike and powerful a monarch as Edward, propoſed an accommodation; and a truce was concluded on terms by no means honourable to France. Lewis ſtipulated to pay the king of England immediately ſeventy-five thouſand crowns, in order to defray the expence of his armament, on condition that he ſhould quietly withdraw his troops, and fifty thouſand crowns a-year during their joint lives[20].

This treaty reflected little honour on either of the monarchs. It diſcovered the imprudence of the one, and the puſillanimity of the other. But as Lewis made intereſt the ſole teſt of his honour, he thought he had over-reached Edward, by ſending him out of France on ſuch eaſy terms. The moſt honourable article on the ſide of Lewis, was the ſtipulation for the liberty of queen Margaret, who was ſtill detained in cuſtody by Edward. Lewis paid fifty thouſand crowns for her ranſom; and this princeſs who, in active ſcenes of life, had experienced ſo remarkably the viciſſitudes of fortune, paſſed the remainder of her days in tranquillity and privacy. Margaret ſeems neither to have poſſeſſed the virtues, nor been ſubject to the weakneſſes of her ſex; and ſhe was as much tainted with the ferocity, as endowed with the courage of the age in which ſhe lived.

The dark and unrelenting diſpoſition of Richard, duke of Glouceſter, the future ſcourge of England, began more particularly to diſcover itſelf after Edward's return from France. The duke of Clarence, by all his ſervices in deſerting War-

20. Rymer, vol. xii. - Phil. de Comines, liv. iv.

wick,

wick, had never been able to regain the king's friendſhip, which he had forfeited by his former confederacy with that nobleman. He had alſo the misfortune to offend his brother Glouceſter, who ſecretly conſpired his ruin. Several of his friends were accuſed and executed, under frivolous pretences, in hopes that his reſentment would betray him into meaſures which might furniſh matter for an impeachment. He fell into the ſnare. Inſtead of ſecuring his own life againſt the preſent danger by ſilence and reſerve, he was open and loud in aſſerting the innocence of his friends, and in exclaiming againſt the iniquity of their proſecutors. The king ordered him to be committed to the Tower; and he was ſentenced to die by the Houſe of Peers, the ſupreme tribunal of the nation, for arraigning public juſtice, by maintaining the innocence of men who had been condemned in courts of judicature. The only favour which the king granted him was the choice of his death: and he was privately drowned in a butt of Malmſey [21]; a whimſical choice which leads us to ſuppoſe that he was paſſionately fond of that liquor.

A. D. 1478.

The remaining part of Edward's reign was diſtinguiſhed by no remarkable event. He ſunk again into indolence and pleaſure, from which he was once more rouſed by the proſpect of a French war. While making preparations with that view, he was ſeized with a violent diſtemper, of which he died in the forty-ſecond year of his age. He was a prince of more vigour than prudence; and conſequently leſs fitted to prevent ills by wiſe precautions, than to remedy them after they took place. As a man he poſſeſſed many accompliſhments: his virtues were few, his vices a numerous catalogue.

A. D. 1483.

Edward IV. left two ſons; the prince of Wales, now Edward V. in his thirteenth year, and Richard duke of York, in his ninth. The duke of Glouceſter, their uncle, whoſe

21. Fabian. Stowe. Hall. Hollingſhed.

ſanguinary

ſanguinary diſpoſition I have had occaſion to notice, was appointed regent by Edward's deſire, and choſen protector by his own artifices. He had already got the two young princes into his poſſeſſion, contrary to the inclination of their mother, who ſeemed ſtruck with a kind of preſage of their future fate; and his eye was fixed upon the throne, though not only the ſons of Edward, but thoſe of the duke of Clarence ſtood between him and it.

An attempt to exclude or deſtroy ſo many perſons poſſeſſed of a preferable right, may ſeem equally imprudent and impracticable. But a man like Glouceſter, who had abandoned all principles of honour and humanity, was ſoon carried by his predominant paſſion beyond the reach of fear or precaution: and having ſo far ſucceeded in his views, he no longer heſitated in removing the other obſtructions in his way. He ordered earl Rivers, the queen's brother, ſir Richard Gray, her ſon by her former huſband, and ſir Thomas Vaughan, who poſſeſſed a conſiderable place in the young king's houſhold, and was firmly attached to his perſon, to be thrown into priſon, and executed without any form of trial. His next ſtep was to draw into his views the duke of Buckingham and lord Haſtings. With the firſt he ſucceeded; but the laſt remained firm in his allegiance to the children of Edward, who had ever honoured him with his friendſhip. His death was therefore reſolved upon; and for that purpoſe a council was ſummoned in the Tower, whither that nobleman, ſuſpecting no harm, repaired without heſitation.

Glouceſter, on taking his place at the council board, appeared in the eaſieſt and moſt facetious humour imaginable; but making a pretence ſoon after to retire, as if called away by urgent buſineſs, he returned knitting his brows, grinding his teeth, and exhibiting, by frequent change of countenance, ſymptoms of inward perturbation. A general ſilence enſued: every one dreading ſome terrible cataſtrophe, and all gazing with looks of doubt and anxiety upon each other.

Richard

Richard at laſt relieved them from their awful ſuſpence. What puniſhment do they deſerve," ſaid he, "who have "conſpired againſt my life?"—"The death of traitors," replied lord Haſtings. "Theſe traitors," cried Richard, "are the ſorcereſs, my brother's wife, and that witch Shore, "his miſtreſs, with others their aſſociates. See to what a "condition they have reduced me by their ſpells and incan-"tations!" laying bare his arm, all ſhrivelled and decayed. The amazement of the council was increaſed, it being well known this infirmity had attended him from his childhood; and lord Haſtings, who ſince Edward's death engaged in an intrigue with Jane Shore, was naturally alarmed at ſuch an accuſation. "Certainly, my lord," ſaid he, with ſome heſitation, "if they are guilty of ſuch a crime, they deſerve pu-"niſhment."—"And do you," exclaimed Richard, "reply "to me with your *ifs*? You know their guilt: you are "yourſelf a traitor, and the chief abettor of the witch "Shore; and I ſwear by St. Paul, that I will not dine until "your head is brought me!" He ſtruck the table with his hand: armed men ruſhed in at the ſignal: Haſtings was ſeized; hurried away; and inſtantly beheaded on a log of wood, which accidentally lay in the court-yard of the Tower[22].

Richard having thus got rid of the man he moſt feared, and of all who were moſt likely to oppoſe his views, ordered lord Stanley, the archbiſhop of York, the biſhop of Ely, and other counſellors of whom he was ſuſpicious, to be committed priſoners to the Tower; and in order to carry on the farce of accuſations, he commanded the goods of Jane Shore to be ſeized, and ſummoned her to anſwer before the council for ſorcery and witchcraft. But as beauty was her only witchcraft, and converſation her moſt dangerous ſpell, no proofs were produced againſt her which could be received even in that ignorant age. Her perſecution, however, did

22. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.* Sir T. More.

† not

not end here. Though framed for virtue, ſhe had proved unable to reſiſt temptation, and had left her huſband, a goldſmith in Lombard-ſtreet, to live with Edward, who ſolicited her favours. But while ſeduced from her fidelity by this gay and amorous monarch, ſhe ſtill made herſelf reſpectable by her other virtues. She never ſold her influence. Her good offices, the genuine dictates of her heart, waited not the ſolicitation of preſents or the hopes of reciprocal benefit; to protect the oppreſſed, and relieve the indigent, were her higheſt pleaſures. Yet all her amiable qualities, could not ſave her from the bitterneſs of ſhame, cruelly impoſed upon her by a barbarous tyrant. Richard ordered her to be tried in the ſpiritual court for adultery. The charge was too notorious to be denied. She pleaded guilty, and was condemned to do public penance in a white ſheet at St. Paul's, after walking barefooted through the city. Her future life was long and wretched. She experienced in old age and poverty the ingratitude of thoſe courtiers whom ſhe had raiſed into favour. Not one, of all the multitudes ſhe had obliged, had the humanity to bring her conſolation or relief. Her frailties as a woman, amid a court inured to the moſt atrocious crimes, were thought ſufficient to juſtify all violations of friendſhip towards her, and all neglect of former obligations; and ſhe was permitted to languiſh out her days in ſolitude and want [23].

So many acts of violence, exerciſed againſt all the neareſt connexions of the late king, prognoſticated the ſevereſt fate to his defenceleſs children; and after the murder of Haſtings, Richard no longer made a ſecret of his intention to uſurp the crown. As a colour to his pretenſions, he not only maintained, that his two nephews were illegitimate, but alſo his two brothers, Edward IV. and the duke of Clarence; that his mother had admitted different lovers into her bed, who were the fathers of theſe children; that their reſemblance to

23. Ibid.

thoſe

those gallants was a sufficient proof of their spurious birth; and that he alone of all her sons, as appeared by his features, was the true offspring of the duke of York. The place chosen for promulgating this foul and impudent assertion was the pulpit, before a large congregation, and in Richard's presence. Dr. Shaw, a sycophant entirely at his devotion, was appointed to preach in St. Paul's, and having chosen for his text, from scripture, "Bastard slips shall not thrive!" he enlarged on every circumstance that could discredit the birth of Edward IV. the duke of Clarence, and of all their children. He then broke out into a panegyric on the duke of Gloucester, exclaiming, "It is he who carries in his face, "in his soul, the image of virtue, and the marks of a true "descent!" And it was expected, as soon as the doctor had pronounced these words, that the audience would cry out, "God save king Richard!" a salutation which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent, and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But the audience kept a profound silence, and disappointed both the protector and his preacher [24].

Richard, however, had gone too far to recede from his criminal and ambitious purpose. Another place was chosen for a popular harangue: a place where a popular speaker never fails to persuade, and where a voice may be obtained for any measure, however atrocious or absurd. The citizens of London, with the rabble at their heels, were assembled in Guildhall, where the duke of Buckingham addressed them in an eloquent harangue, setting forth the title and virtues of the protector, and "God save king Richard!" was at last returned by the mob. The sentiments of the nation were now thought sufficiently declared. The voice of the people was the voice of God! Richard was prevailed upon, though with seeming reluctance, to accept of the

24. Sir T. More.

 crown;

crown; and he thenceforth acted as legitimate and lawful sovereign[25].

This ridiculous farce was soon followed by a scene truly tragical, the murder of the two young princes. Richard gave orders to sir Robert Brakenbury, constable of the Tower, to put his nephews to death; but that gentleman refused to bear any part in the infamous office. The usurper then sent for sir James Tyrrell, who promised obedience, and the government of the Tower was given him for one night. He chose three associates, whom he employed to execute his barbarous commission, and conducted them, about midnight, to the door of the chamber where the princes were lodged. They were in bed, and fallen into a profound sleep. The ruffians suffocated them with bolsters and pillows, and afterwards shewed their naked bodies to Tyrrell, who ordered them to be buried at the foot of the stair-case under a heap of stones[26]. These circumstances were confessed by the perpetrators, in the following reign.

Richard

25. Sir T. More.

26. Sir T. More. An attempt has lately been made by an ingenious, but whimsical writer, to invalidate the particulars of this relation, and even to bring into question the fact it tends to establish. But in answer to the *Historic Doubts* of Mr. Walpole, it will be sufficient to reply, in the words of the profound and sagacious Hume: That the singular magnanimity, probity, and judgment of sir Thomas More, make his narrative an evidence beyond all exception; that the testimony of no historian, either of ancient or modern times, can possibly have more weight; that he may justly be esteemed a cotemporary with regard to the murder of the two princes: for although he was but five years of age when that event happened, he lived and was educated among the persons concerned in the principal transactions during the administration of Richard III. And it is plain from his narrative itself, which is often extremely circumstantial, that he had the particulars from eye-witnesses themselves. This authority, therefore, is irresistible; and "*sufficient* "*to overbalance* an hundred *little doubts*, and *scruples*, and *objections*." (*Hist of England*, vol. iii. note M.) All cotemporary writers, both English and foreign, charge Richard, directly or indirectly, with the murder of his nephews. Comines openly accuses him of it, (*Mem* liv. vi. chap. ix.) and Fabian tells us that, as soon as Richard accepted the sovereignty, "Kind Edward V.

"and

Richard having thus extirpated all whom he feared might disturb his government, endeavoured to gain by favours those whom he thought could give stability to his throne. Several noblemen received new honours; and lord Stanley was set at liberty, and made steward of the houshold. But Richard's danger arose from a quarter whence he least expected it. The duke of Buckingham did not think himself sufficiently rewarded for his services in promoting the usurpation: he observed the general detestation of Richard; and, by the advice of Morton, bishop of Ely, he turned his eye towards the young earl of Richmond, now an exile in Britanny, as the only person capable of freeing the nation from the tyranny under which it groaned.

Henry, earl of Richmond, was grandson of sir Owen Tudor and Catharine of France, relict of Henry V. By his mother he was descended from John of Gaunt, duke of Lancaster, son of Edward III. and was the only remaining branch of that family, which had so long contended for the crown. In order to strengthen his interest a match was concerted between him and Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. Money was sent over to him, for the purpose of levying foreign troops; and the queen-dowager promised to join him on his first appearance, with all the friends and partizans of her family.

But so extensive a conspiracy, though laid on the solid foundations of good sense and sound policy, could not escape the jealous and vigilant eye of Richard. He soon received intelligence that his enemies, headed by the duke of Buckingham, were forming some designs against him. The duke, unable to resist the force of Richard, was obliged to seek safety in retreat; he was discovered, condemned, and execut-

" and his brother, the duke of York, were *put under surer keeping* in the Tower, " in *such wise* that they *never after came abroad*." (*Chron.* 225.) Comines supports his accusation with very strong circumstances. The court of France, he tells us, was so much struck with horror at Richards's treason and usurpation, that the English ambassador was refused an audience. *Mem.* ubi sup.

ed,

ed, and the other conſpirators, who had taken arms in different parts of the kingdom, when informed of this misfortune, deſpaired of ſucceſs, and immediately ſeparated themſelves[27]. Meantime the earl of Richmond appeared on the coaſt of England, with a body of five thouſand men; but hearing of the fate of Buckingham, and the diſperſion of his friends, he returned to the coaſt of Britanny.

Richard, thus triumphant in every quarter, and fortified by an unſucceſsful attempt to dethrone him, ventured at laſt to ſummon a parliament; a meaſure which his multiplied crimes, and flagrant uſurpation, had hitherto induced him to decline. The parliament had no choice left but to recognize his authority, and acknowledge his right to the crown. His ſon Edward, a youth of twelve years of age, was created prince of Wales; and the king paſſed ſome popular laws in order to reconcile the nation to his government.

A. D. 1484.

All Richard's other meaſures tended to the ſame object. His queen being now dead, he propoſed by means of a papal diſpenſation, to marry the princeſs Elizabeth, the true heireſs of the crown, and intended for the earl of Richmond, if his enterprize had ſucceeded. And, ſtrange as it may ſound in civilized ears, the queen-dowager neither ſcrupled this alliance, which was very unuſual in England, and regarded as inceſtuous, nor felt any horror at the thought of marrying her daughter to the murderer of her three ſons, and of her brother. But the earl of Richmond, alarmed at an alliance which muſt prove fatal to all his hopes, and encouraged by the Engliſh exiles, reſolved upon a new invaſion. All men of probity and honour, he was aſſured, were deſirous to prevent the ſceptre from being any longer polluted by that bloody and faithleſs hand which held it[28]. In conſequence of theſe repreſentations, he ſet ſail from Harfleur, in Normandy, with a retinue of about two thouſand men, and landed at Milford Haven, in Wales.

A. D. 1485.

27. Sir T. More. Contin. *Hiſt. Croyland.*

28. Ibid.

The

The Welch, who considered him as their countryman, flocked to his standard; and his cause immediately wore a favourable aspect.

Richard, who knew not in what quarter he might expect the invader, had taken post at Nottingham, in the centre of the kingdom, and having given commissions to different persons in the several counties, whom he empowered to oppose his enemy, he proposed in person to haste, on the first alarm, to the place most exposed to danger. The Welch governors had already deserted to Henry. But the danger to which Richard was chiefly exposed, proceeded not so much from the zeal of his open enemies, as from the infidelity of his pretended friends. Scarce any nobleman was sincerely attached to his cause except the duke of Norfolk; and some, who had feigned the greatest loyalty, were only watching for an opportunity to betray and abandon him. Among these was lord Stanley; who raised a numerous body of his friends and retainers in Cheshire and Lancashire, but without openly declaring himself, his son being in the tyrant's power. And although Henry had received secret assurances of Stanley's friendly intentions, the armies on both sides knew not what to infer from his equivocal behaviour, when they met at Bosworth, near Leicester. Henry's army consisted of six thousand men, Richard's of double that number: and he hastened to decide by arms the quarrel with his competitor.

Soon after the battle began, lord Stanley appeared in the field and declared for the earl of Richmond. This measure had a proportional effect upon both armies: it inspired unusual courage into Henry's soldiers; it threw Richard's into dismay and confusion. The intrepid tyrant, now sensible of his desperate situation, cast his eye across the field, and descrying his rival at no great distance, attempted to decide the victory by a blow. He killed with his own hand sir William Brandon, standard-bearer to the earl: he dismounted Sir John Cheney; and he was within reach of Henry himself,

ſelf, who declined not the combat, when ſir William Stanley broke in between them, and ſurrounded Richard with his troops. Though overwhelmed by numbers, he ſtill maintained the combat; and at laſt ſunk amid heaps of ſlain, who had fallen by his arm [29].—A life ſo infamous, it has been ſaid by Voltaire, and by Hume after him, did not merit ſo glorious a death; but every man ſurely merits what his talents enable him to earn. Richard was a blood-thirſty tyrant; but he was brave, and he died as a brave man ſhould, with his ſword in his hand: he was brave to the laſt. It would indeed have been matter of regret had he died in his bed, after diſturbing ſo cruelly the repoſe of mankind; but his death was ſufficiently violent, to prevent his life from becoming an object of imitation.

This battle was entirely deciſive: the king not only being ſlain, but the whole royal army totally routed and diſperſed. The victorious troops, in a tranſport of joy, beſtowed on their general the appellation of king; and "Long live Henry the Seventh!" reſounded from all quarters, and was continued with repeated acclamations. In order to give ſome kind of form to this military election, the ornamental crown which Richard wore in battle, was placed upon Henry's head: his title was confirmed by the parliament; and his marriage with the princeſs Elizabeth, which took place ſoon after, united the jarring claims of the houſes of York and Lancaſter [30].—Thus ended the race of the Plantagenets, who had ſat upwards of three hundred years upon the throne of England, and thus the civil wars, which had ſo long deſolated the kingdom.

We muſt now return to the Hiſtory of France.

29. Kennet. Sir T. More. 30. Ibid.

LET-

LETTER XLIX.

FRANCE, *from the Expulsion of the* ENGLISH *by* CHARLES VII. *to the Invasion of* ITALY *by* CHARLES VIII. *in* 1494.

WHILE England, my dear Philip, was torn in pieces by civil wars, France was increasing both in power and dominion. Most of the great fiefs were reunited to the crown: the authority of the prince was raised to such a height, as enabled him to maintain law and order; a considerable military force was established, and the finances were able to support it. The means by which these changes were effected require your particular attention.

Charles VII. no sooner found himself in quiet possession of France, by the expulsion of the English, than he devoted himself to the cares of government: he endeavoured to repair the ravages of war by promoting the arts of peace, and to secure the tranquillity and good order of his kingdom by wise regulations. He established a regular army, instead of those troops required to be furnished by the crown vassals, and levied a tax for their support. Besides that army, which was kept in constant pay, each village maintained a free archer, who was exempted from the king's tax; and it was in consequence of this exemption, otherwise peculiar to the nobility, that such a number of persons soon claimed the title of gentlemen, both by name and arms.

A. D. 1453.

These politic measures were followed by the most important consequences. A force, always at command, gave vigour to the royal authority; the possessors of fiefs being no longer called upon, had no longer any pretence for arming their followers, to disturb the peace of the state; so that the feudal polity went rapidly to decay in France, and Charles beheld himself at the head of the largest and best regulated kingdom in Europe.

But all the wiſdom and generoſity of this great monarch could not ſecure to him that happineſs which he endeavoured to procure for his ſubjects. His ſon Lewis revolted, and imbittered his latter days with ſorrow; nay, brought him to an untimely grave: for being informed that this prince intended to take him off by poiſon, he abſtained from all food till it was too late; and literally died of hunger, that his unnatural ſon might not be guilty of parricide [1].

Lewis XI. ſo much celebrated as a politician, and deſpiſed as a man, now ſucceeded to that crown, which he had

A. D. 1461. traiterouſly attempted to ſeize, in prejudice to the beſt of kings and of fathers. His leading object was the aggrandizement of the monarchy, by depreſſing the power of the nobles, and reuniting the great fiefs to the crown. And as he knew that men of honour and character would not be concerned in an attempt upon the rights and properties of others, he immediately diſmiſſed the reſpectable miniſters, who had ably and faithfully ſerved his father, and ſelected from among the loweſt of the people, men of a diſpoſition ſimilar to his own; ſubtle, deceitful, unfeeling, and cruel. But craft may ſometimes over-ſhoot its aim, eſpecially

A. D. 1465. when accompanied with rapacity. The nobles were alarmed; they entered into an aſſociation, and took arms to humble their oppreſſor. The king alſo took arms, and prepared to face them. A battle was fought, which decided nothing; and as Lewis was fonder of negociating than fighting, a peace was concluded on terms advantageous to the rebels, but which the perfidious tyrant never meant to fulfil. He took into favour many of thoſe whom he had formerly diſgraced: he detached from the confederacy the dukes of Bourbon and Britanny; and he got an aſſembly of the ſtates to declare thoſe articles of the treaty void, which were moſt detrimental to his intereſt [2].

But

1. Monſtrelet. Du Tillet. Mezeray.

2. *Mem de Phil. de Comines.* Dup'eix. Mezery. By exerting all his power and addreſs in influencing the election of the repreſentatives; by bribing or over-

But although Lewis thus artfully defeated a conſpiracy that ſeemed to endanger his throne, his rapacity ſoon brought him into new troubles: he became the dupe of his own artifice, and had almoſt periſhed in his own ſnare. Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, was ſucceeded in his extenſive dominions by his ſon Charles the Bold. Charles had an antipathy againſt Lewis; and, what more alarmed that arch-politician, knew him better than any man in Europe. Both parties aſſembled forces, and the fate of one of them was expected to be decided; when Lewis, who hated coming to extremities, agreed to pay the duke thirty-ſix thouſand crowns to defray his military expences, and appointed a perſonal interview at Peronne, in Picardy, then in poſſeſſion of Charles. The propoſal was agreed to, and the king went to the place of meeting accompanied only by a few domeſtics. By ſuch an act of confidence, he hoped to throw Charles off his guard, and take advantage, during their conferences, of that friendly temper which he had inſpired. As a farther means of forwarding his negociation, he commanded ſome of his emiſſaries to enter Liege, and perſuade the inhabitants to revolt againſt the duke. A. D. 1467.

Thus wrapt in perfidy and deceit, Lewis thought himſelf ſure of concluding an advantageous treaty. He was miſtaken, however, for once. The duke indeed received him with all poſſible marks of friendſhip and reſpect, and ſeemed highly pleaſed with ſo much confidence in an adverſary; but the face of affairs was as ſoon changed. Intelligence arrived that the people of Liege had broke out into open rebellion at the inſtigation of the French emiſſaries, and had cut the gar-

over-awing the members, and by various changes which he artfully made in the form of their deliberations, Lewis XI. acquired ſuch entire direction of the national aſſemblies, that, from being the vigilant guardians of the privileges and property of the people, he rendered them tamely ſubſervient, in protecting the moſt odious meaſures of his reign. (Phil. de Com. tom. i.) He firſt taught other modern princes the fatal art of becoming arbitrary, by corrupting the fountain of public liberty.

riſon

rison in pieces. Charles, in the first transports of his rage, ordered the king to be shut up in the castle of Peronne; posted double guards at the gates, and made him thoroughly sensible that he was a prisoner, and at the mercy of his vassal.

In that wretched condition Lewis had continued three days, when he again attempted to set his crooked policy at work, by distributing large sums among the duke's officers; and Charles's anger being now somewhat abated, he was prevailed upon to enter into a negociation with his prisoner, or rather to prescribe such terms as he thought proper, to a prince whose life and liberty were in his power. The most mortifying of these conditions was, that Lewis should march with him against Liege, and be active in the reduction of that place, which had revolted at his own request. Liege was reduced; and Lewis having thus fulfilled, in every particular, the purpose of his vassal, was permitted to depart, before the duke set fire to the town, and massacred the inhabitants [3].—This affair was treated with so much ridicule at Paris, that all the magpyes and jays were taught to cry, "Peronne! Peronne!" a circumstance that proved fatal to many of them; for Lewis, after his return, issued an edict for destroying all those talkative birds, as unnecessary remembrancers of his disgrace [4].

A. D. 1468.

The subsequent part of Lewis's reign was one continued scene of executions, wars, and negociations. He and his infamous ministers divided the possessions of those, whom his tyrannies had caused to rebel: his ministers themselves conspired against him; and the bishop of Verdun, and cardinal Balue, men as wicked as himself, suffered those tortures which they had invented for others. His brother Charles, who had been always a thorn in his side, was taken off by poison; the constable de St. Paul, his brother-in-law, the count of Armagnac, the dukes of Alençon and Nemours, lost

3. Phil. de Com. liv. ii. chap. vii.—xiv.
4. J. Troyes, *Hist. Secrete de Lewis XI.*

their

their heads on the scaffold; and the children of the last named nobleman, by an unheardof piece of barbarity, were sprinkled with their father's blood, yet reeking from his veins, and sent in that condition to the Bastile [5].

With the ignominious but politic treaty of Lewis with Edward IV. by which he purchased the retreat of that monarch, you are already acquainted. He was always engaged, either in war or negociations, with his natural enemy the duke of Burgundy, till the death of that prince, who fell in an ambitious and unprovoked attempt upon the liberty of the Swiss. This was a fortunate event for Lewis, and he endeavoured to make the most of it. The duke left no male issue, and but one daughter, the sole heiress of his extensive dominions, which comprehended not only the duchy of Burgundy, but Franche-Comté, Artois, Flanders, and almost all the Netherlands. Lewis proposed a marriage between this princess and his son Charles, the dauphin, a boy only seven years old. In the mean time he seized Burgundy, as a male fief, and made himself master of Artois, Benzançon, and several other places, by the most atrocious acts of treachery and cruelty [6]. This was the way to make sure of something, but surely not to bring about a marriage treaty: the rapacity of this arch-politician, notwithstanding all his penetration, once more betrayed him. The princess, Mary, was filled with diffidence, and her Flemish subjects with detestation. By their advice she married the archduke Maximilian [7], son of the emperor Frederic III. and hence arose new wars, which long desolated the Low Countries, and bred an implacable hatred between the houses of France and Austria.

A. D. 1477.

Lewis,

5. Du Tillet. The king ordered, says Mezeray, that the two sons of the duke of Nemours, yet infants, should be placed beneath the scaffold on which he was executed, that their father's blood might fall on their heads. *Abregé Chronol. de Hist. de France.*

6. Phil. de Com. liv. v. chap. xv. Du Clos, *Hist. Lewis XI.*

7. There is reason however to believe, that the heiress of Burgundy was influenced, in her choice, by other motives than those of policy; for we are told

Lewis, however, put a ſtop to theſe wars (as he did, as ſoon as poſſible, to all in which he was engaged) by a truce; and though he could not boaſt of his ſucceſs in arms, he retained Burgundy, and all the other places he had ſeized. Anjou, Maine, Provence, and Bar, were ſoon after left him by Charles count du Maine, the laſt prince of the houſe of Anjou, who died without iſſue. He united to the crown Rouſſillon and Cerdagne, under pretence of mortgage, and the county of Boulogne by purchaſe. Thus Lewis, amid all his crimes, and after all his ſtruggles, and all his blunders, ſaw his kingdom much enlarged, his ſubjects in obedience, and his government revered at home and abroad. But he had only a glimpſe of that agreeable proſpect; for he was ſuddenly ſeized with a fit of the apoplexy, which threw him into a lingering illneſs; and he expected death with all thoſe horrors, which a life of ſuch complicated guilt deſerved. It at laſt overtook him; but not before he had ſuffered more ſevere tortures than any criminal puniſhed during his reign [8].

A. D. 1480.

A. D. 1483.

The

told by Philip de Comines, that while her marriage with the dauphin was under deliberation, madame Hallewin, firſt lady of the bedchamber to that princeſs, gave it as her opinion, "That there was more need of a man than a "boy!" (Mem. liv vi. chap. iii.) Admitting this to be the caſe, and the marriage with the dauphin impracticable, Lewis might ſtill have prevented the dominions of Burgundy from being conveyed to a rival power, by favouring the ſuit of the count of Angouleme, a prince of the blood-royal of France, and father of Francis I. towards a match with whom the princeſs Mary had indicated her good will (Comines ubi ſup.) But the rapacious diſpoſition and intriguing ſpirit of the French monarch, which obſcured his naturally clear and ſound underſtanding, with his jealous dread of ſo highly exalting a ſubject, made him diſcourage that alliance, and purſue a line of inſidious policy, diſgraceful even to Lewis XI. and which contributed, eventually, to raiſe up in the houſe of Auſtria a rival power that thwarted the meaſures, oppoſed the arms, and checked, during two centuries, the progreſs of the ſucceſſors of a prince, who firſt united the interior force of France, and eſtabliſhed it on ſuch a footing as to render it formidable to the reſt of Europe.

8. Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xxi. xxii. Du Clos, *Hiſt. Louis XI.* The picture drawn by theſe two writers, of the laſt ſcene of this monarch's life, in contraſt with his cruelties, is deeply ſhaded with horror. He put to death, we

The character of Lewis XI. is one of the most complicated in history. He obtained the end which he proposed by his policy, but at the expence of his peace and reputation. His life was a jumble of crimes and contradictions. Absolute, without dignity; popular (because he humbled the great), without generosity; unjust by system, yet zealous for

we are told, more than four thousand persons, by different kinds of torture, and without any form of trial; that he was usually present himself at their execution, in beholding which he seemed to enjoy a barbarous satisfaction or triumph; that many of the nobility were, by his order, confined in iron cages, invented by the ministers of his tyrannies, and carried about like wild beasts; while others were loaded with heavy and galling fetters, with a ring of a particular construction for the feet, called the *King's Nets!* (Comines et Du Clos ubi sup.) In consequence of these barbarities, and a dread of future punishment, he became greatly afraid of death; and during his illness suspicious of every one around him, not excepting his own son, his daughter, and his son-in-law, the lord of Beaujeau, afterwards duke of Bourbon, though in the two last he placed more confidence than in all the others. After often shifting his residence and his domestics, under pretence that nature delights in change, he took up his abode at the castle of Plessiz-les-Tours, which he ordered to be encompassed with large bars of iron in the form of a grate, with four watch-towers of iron at the four corners of the building. The grates were without the wall, on the further side of the ditch, and went to the bottom; spikes of iron, set as thick as possible, were fastened into the wall; and cross-bow men were placed in the ditches and in the watch-towers, to shoot at any man, who dared approach the castle till the opening of the gate. The gate was never opened, nor the draw-bridge let down before eight in the morning, when the courtiers were permitted to enter. Through the day the captains were ordered to guard their several posts, with a main guard in the middle of the court, as in a town closely besieged. (Phil. de Com. liv. vi. chap. xii.) Nor was this all. Every secret of medicine, every allurement of sensuality, and every sacrifice of superstition, was exhausted, in order to protract the tyrant's miserable existence, and set at a distance the ills he feared. The pope sent him the vest which St. Peter wore when he said mass; the sacred phial was brought from Rheims to re-anoint him; and he invited a holy-hermit from Calabria, at whose feet he kneeled, and whose intercession with Heaven he attempted to buy, by building him two convents; the most beautiful country girls were procured to dance around him to the sound of music; he paid his physician, whom he feared, the enormous sum of ten thousand crowns a month; and the blood of infants is said to have been spilt in order to soften the acrimony of his scorbutic humours! Phil. de Com. et Du Clos, ubi sup.

the administration of justice; living in open violation of the first principles of morals, but resigning himself to the most ridiculous superstitions; the tyrant of his subjects, and the timid slave of his physicians! he debased the royalty at the same time that he strengthened it. Yet this prince who rendered religion contemptible, and royalty disgraceful, assumed the title of *Majesty* and *Most Christian*, since given to his successors, and formerly not claimed by the kings of France.

Lewis was succeeded by his son, Charles VIII. a young prince ill educated, rash, and incapable of application. As he had entered the fourteenth year of his age, he was no longer a minor by the law; but he was still so by nature; and Lewis had wisely entrusted the government, during the youth of the king, to his daughter Anne, lady of Beaujeau, a woman of great spirit and capacity. The administration, however, was disputed by the duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood, and afterward the celebrated Lewis XII. who proving unsuccessful in his intrigues, betook himself to arms, and entered into a league with the duke of Britanny, and the archduke Maximilian. The Bretons were defeated in the battle of St. Aubin, and the duke of Orleans was taken prisoner [9].

The death of the duke of Britanny, which happened soon after this defeat, threw the affairs of that duchy into the utmost confusion, and seemed to threaten the state with final subjection. It was the only great fief which now remained disunited from the crown of France; and as the duke had died without male heirs, some antiquated claims to its dominion were revived by Charles VIII. But force is the best claim between princes; of that Charles was possessed; and the conquest of Britanny seemed inevitable, unless prevented by some foreign power.

A. D. 1488.

9. Mezeray, tom. vi. Henault, tom. i. Could the duke of Orleans have flattered the passion of Anne of Beaujeau, he might, if we believe Brantome, not only have escaped this misfortune, but shared the administration.

The

The prince to whom the diſtreſſed Bretons looked up for aid was Henry VII. of England, who was highly intereſted in preventing the reduction of their country, as well as bound by ties of gratitude to return that protection to the young ducheſs, which had been generouſly yielded him by her father. But the parſimonious temper of Henry, which rendered him averſe to all warlike enterpriſes, or diſtant expeditions, prevented him from ſending them any effectual ſupport. They therefore applied to Maximilian of Auſtria, now king of the Romans, whoſe wife, Mary of Burgundy, was lately dead, and offered him their ducheſs in marriage. The propoſal was readily accepted; the nuptials were celebrated by proxy; and the ducheſs of Britanny aſſumed the auguſt title of Queen of the Romans. But this honour was all ſhe gained by her marriage; for Maximilian, deſtitute of money and troops, and embarraſſed by the continual revolts of the Flemings, was able to ſend no ſuccours to his conſort. The French made progreſs every day: yet the conqueſt of Britanny ſeemed ſtill ſo diſtant, and accompanied with ſo many difficulties, that the court of France changed its meaſures, and by a maſter-ſtroke in policy aſtoniſhed all Europe.

A. D. 1489.

Charles VIII. had been affianced to Margaret, daughter of Maximilian. Though too young for the nuptial union, ſhe had been ſent to Paris to be educated, and at this time bore the title of queen of France. Engagements ſo ſolemnly entered into could not eaſily be ſet aſide; but the marriage of Charles with the ducheſs of Britanny ſeemed neceſſary to re-annex that important fief to the crown; and, as a yet ſtronger motive for ſuch alliance, the marriage of Maximilian with this princeſs appeared deſtructive to the grandeur, and even to the ſecurity of the French monarchy. The only means of obviating every inconveniency, were therefore concluded to be, the diſſolution of the two marriages, which had been celebrated but not conſummated, and the eſpouſal of the ducheſs of Britanny to the king of France.

The

The measures by which the French ministry carried this delicate scheme into execution, were wise and political. While they pressed Britanny with all the violence of war, they secretly negotiated with the men of most influence in the duchy, representing to them, That the happiest event which in their present situation could befal the Bretons, would be a peace with France, though purchased by a final subjection to that monarchy. These arguments had some weight with the barons; but the grand difficulty was, how to obtain the consent of the duchess, who had fixed her affections on Maximilian. In order to subdue her obstinacy, the duke of Orleans was set at liberty; and though formerly her suitor, and favoured with her smile, he now zealously employed all his interest in favour of the king. By his advice, Charles advanced with a powerful army to Rennes, at that time the residence of the duchess. Finding herself without resource, she opened the gates of the city, and agreed to the proffered marriage; which was soon after solemnized, and justly considered as the most fortunate event that could have befallen the French monarchy [10].

A. D. 1491.

The success of Charles, in this negociation, was the most sensible mortification to the king of the Romans. He was deprived of a considerable territory which he thought he had acquired, and an accomplished princess, whom he had espoused: he was affronted in the person of his daughter Margaret, who was sent back to him, after she had been treated, during seven years, as queen of France; and he had reason to reproach himself with his own supine security, in neglecting the consummation of his marriage, which was easily practicable for him, and would have rendered the tie indissoluble. The king of England had also reason to accuse himself of misconduct, in regard to this important transaction: for although the affair had terminated in a manner which he could not precisely foresee, his negligence in leaving his most useful ally so long exposed to the invasion of a supe-

10. Mezeray, Henault, ubi sup. Bacon, *Hist. Hen. VII.*

perior power, could not but appear, on reflection, the result of timid caution, and narrow politics; and, as Henry valued himself on his extensive foresight, and sound judgment, the ascendant acquired over him, by such a youth as Charles, roused his indignation, and prompted him to seek vengeance, after all remedy for his miscarriage was become impracticable. He accordingly entered into a league with the king of the Romans, and the king of Spain, who also interested himself in this matter: he obtained liberal supplies from his parliament; and he landed in France with one of the largest, and best appointed armies that had ever been transported from England [11]. A. D. 1492.

But Charles and his ministers found means to divert the impending storm, by dissolving the confederacy. They drew the king of Spain into a separate treaty, by restoring to him the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne; and as they knew Henry's ruling passion to be money, he was bought off by the famous treaty of Estaples, the particulars of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention. Maximilian now alone remained of all those hostile powers; and he was content to conclude a peace, on obtaining restitution of Artois, Franche Comté, and Carolois, which had been ceded as the dowry of his daughter, when she was affianced to the king of France [12]. A. D. 1493.

Charles's motives for purchasing peace at so high a price were neither those of indolence nor timidity, but of ambition and youthful ardour. He had determined to vindicate his title to the kingdom of Naples, supposed to descend to him from the second house of Anjou, which ended in Charles count of Maine, who had bequeathed all his rights and possessions to the crown of France. This project had long engaged the mind of Charles; but, in order to carry it effectually into execution, it was necessary A. D. 1494.

11. Bacon, ubi sup.

12. Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. iii.

to be at peace with his neighbours: and that being now secured, he set out for Italy with as little concern as if it had been a mere journey of pleasure [13].

But before I speak of the success of that expedition, and the wars in which it involved Europe, several important matters merit your attention—the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, and the expulsion of the Moors out of Spain.

13. Ibid. chap. v. Mezeray, tom. iv.

LETTER L.

The Progress of the TURKS, *and the Fall of the* GREEK *Empire.*

YOU have already seen, my dear Philip, the weakness of the empire of Constantinople at the time of the Crusades; you have seen the imperial city sacked, and the government seized by the champions of the Cross. The Greeks recovered their empire from the French in 1261, but in a mangled and impoverished condition. It continued in the same weak state. The monastic passion seemed to have obscured the rays of common sense. Andronicus, son of Michael Paleologus, who had restored the Greek empire, allowed himself to be persuaded, that God being his protector, all military force was unnecessary; and the superstitious Greeks, regardless of danger, employed themselves in disputing about the transfiguration of Jesus Christ, when they should have been studying the art of war and training themselves to military discipline. One half of the empire pretended, that the light upon Mount Tabor had been from all eternity; and the other half affirmed, that it had been produced by God only for the purpose of the transfiguration [1].

In the mean time the Turks, whose force had been broken by the Mogul Tartars, were strengthening themselves in

1. Pachymer.

Asia

Asia Minor, and soon over-ran Thrace. Othman, from whom the present sultans are descended, and to whom the Ottoman empire owes its establishment, fixed the seat of his government at Prusa, in Bithynia, about the beginning of the fourteenth century. His son Orcan advanced as far as the borders of the Propontis; and John Cantacuzenus, colleague of the emperor Paleologus, was glad to purchase the friendship of an infidel and barbarian, according to the haughty language of the Greeks, by giving him his daughter in marriage[2]. A. D. 1346.

Cantacuzenus, who had usurped the imperial dignity, ended his days in a monastery; and John Paleologus, after having in vain implored succours in Italy, and humbled himself at the feet of the pope, was obliged to return and conclude a shameful treaty with Amurath, the son of Orcan, whose tributary he consented to become. The Turkish army had crossed the streights of Calipolis, taken the city of Adrianople, and marched into the heart of Thrace, before the return of the emperor[3]. Amurath first gave to the Janizaries that form under which they at present subsist. A. D. 1370.

In order to create a body of devoted troops, that might serve as the immediate guards of his person and dignity, the sultan commanded his officers to seize annually, as the imperial property, the third part of the young males, taken in war. After being instructed in the Mahometan religion, inured to obedience by severe discipline, and trained to warlike exercise, these youths were formed into regular bands, distinguished by the name of *Janizaries* or new soldiers. And as every sentiment which enthusiasm can inspire, and every mark of honour that the favour of the prince could confer, were employed to animate them with martial ardour, and fill them with a sense of their own pre-eminence, the Janizaries soon became the chief strength and pride of the Ottoman armies. By their valour Amurath defeated, in the

2. Ducas. 3. Ibid.

plain of Cassovia, the united forces of the Wallachians, Hungarians, Dalmatians, and Triballians, under the conduct of Lascaris, prince of Servia; but walking care-
A. D. 1389.
lessly over the field of victory, he was assassinated by a Christian soldier, who had concealed himself among the slain. He was succeeded by his son Bajazet, surnamed Ilderim, or the Thunderbolt, on account of the rapidity of his conquests [4].

The Greeks, though surrounded by such dangerous enemies, and though their empire was almost reduced to the boundaries of Constantinople, were not more united among themseves than formerly. Discord even reigned in the imperial family. John Paleologus had condemned his son Andronicus to lose his eyes: Andronicus revolted against him, and by the assistance of the Genoese, who were masters of the commerce, and even part of the suburbs of Constantinople, he shut his father up in prison. After two years confinement, the emperor recovered his liberty and his authority, and built a citadel in order to obstruct the designs of the Turks; but Bajazet, the terrible Bajazet, ordered him to demolish his works—and the works were demolished [5]!—— What but ruin, and that both sudden and inevitable, could be expected from a people, whose timidity induced them to destroy the very column of their security.

In the mean time, the progress of the Turks in Europe alarming the Christian princes, Philip the Good, duke of Burgundy, and the flower of the French nobility, took arms, and followed the call of John-without-Fear, count of Nevers. The main army, which consisted of about one hundred thousand men, of different nations, was commanded by Sigismund, king of Hungary, afterwards emperor of Germany. The Christians besieged Nicopolis, upon the Danube. Bajazet came to relieve it. He examined the disposition of his enemies: he tried their spirit by skirmishes, and found they had courage, but wanted conduct: he drew

4. Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*

5. Ducas.

them into an ambuſcade, and gained a complete victory over them. Bajazet has been juſtly blamed for maſſacring his priſoners; but it ought to be remembered that the French had ſhewn him the example, by putting to death all the Turks they had ſeized before the battle [6]. A. D. 1396.

Conſtantinople was immediately threatened by the conqueror. But Manuel Paleologus, the ſon and ſucceſſor of John, purchaſed a ſeeming peace, by ſubmitting to an annual tribute of ſix hundred pieces of gold; by obliging himſelf to build a moſque, and receive into the city a cadi, or judge, to decide the differences between the Mahometans ſettled there on account of trade. Perceiving, however, a new ſtorm ariſing, he withdrew, and went to the ſeveral courts of Europe to petition aſſiſtance, as his father had formerly done: and with no better ſucceſs. Nobody would ſtir in his defence. Few princes indeed were in a condition ſo to do, almoſt all Chriſtendom being involved in civil wars. The Turks, meanwhile, had laid ſiege to Conſtantinople, and its ruin ſeemed inevitable; when the fatal blow was diverted for a time, by one of thoſe great events, that fill the world with confuſion.

The dominions of the Mogul Tartars, under Genghiz Khan, and his immediate ſucceſſors, extended (as we have had occaſion to ſee) from the Wolga to the frontiers of China, and as far eaſt as the river Ganges. Tamerlane, or Timur Beck, one of the princes of thoſe Tartars, and a deſcendant of Genghiz Khan, by the female line, though born without dominions (in the ancient Sogdiana, at preſent the country of the Uſbecs) ſubdued almoſt as great an extent of territory as his victorious anceſtor; and in the ſweep of his conqueſts, gave a blow to the empire of the Turks. He had ſubjected Perſia, India, and Syria, when the Greek emperor, and five Mahometan princes, whom the ſultan had ſtripped of their dominions, invited him into Aſia Mi-

6. Cantemir, ubi ſup.

nor, as the only potentate able to deliver them from the tyranny of Bajazet.

Tamerlane was no doubt glad of an opportunity of extending his conquests and his renown; but as he had still some respect for the laws of nations, he sent ambassadors to Bajazet, before he commenced hostilities, requiring him to raise the siege of Constantinople, and do justice to the Mahometan princes, whom he had deprived of their territories. The haughty sultan received these proposals with the highest rage and indignation. He abandoned his enterprize, and prepared to face his rival. Tamerlane continued his march, denouncing his vengeance. They met between Cæsaria and Ancyra, where all the forces in the world seemed assembled, and a great and terrible battle was fought. The dispute was long and obstinate, but fortune at length declared for Tamerlane. Bajazet himself was taken prisoner, and had the affliction to see one of his sons fall by his side, and the mortification to find another the companion of his chains. They were treated with great humanity by the victor, notwithstanding the vulgar story of the iron cage, in which the captive sultan is said to have been shut up. Three hundred and forty thousand men are computed to have fallen on both sides [7].

A. D. 1402.

In consequence of this victory, Tamerlane became master of Prusa, the seat of the Turkish empire. He pillaged Nice; ravaged all the country as far as the Thracian Bosphorus, and took Smyrna by assault, after one of the most memorable sieges recorded in history. Every place either yielded to the terror of his name or the force of his arms. The victorious Tartar, however, soon abandoned his acquisitions in Asia Minor, which he found it would be difficult to preserve against so brave a people as the Turks, and went to secure those conquests more likely to prove durable [8].

7. Sharifod. *Hist. Timur-Beck.* Cantemir, *Hist. Oth. Emp.*
8. Sharifod. ubi supra.

Mean-

Meanwhile Manuel Paleologus, the Greek emperor, thinking the Turkish power entirely broken, destroyed the mosque in Constantinople, and retook several places in its neighbourhood. The civil wars between the sons of Bajazet, after the death of their father, and the departure of Tamerlane, fortified Manuel in his ill-founded security. But the Greeks were in time made sensible of their mistake. On the death of Mahomet I. who had dethroned and put to death his brother Musa, Amurath II. the son of this Mahomet, immediately sat down before Constantinople. He raised the siege to quell the revolt of his brother Mustapha; he took Thessalonica and returned to the imperial city, which was in more danger than ever. The emperor Manuel had died in the habit of a monk; and his successor, John Paleologus II. threw himself into the arms of the Latins. He hoped to procure assistance from the West, by uniting the Greek and Roman churches; but he gained by this scheme only the hatred of his subjects. They considered him and the bishops of his train, who had assisted at the council of Florence, as no better than infidels. The bishops were obliged to retract their opinions; and John was much less zealous in maintaining that so-much desired union when he found it would not answer his purpose[9].

A. D. 1421.

A. D. 1424.

A. D. 1439.

The Turks, in the mean time, were happily diverted from Constantinople by their wars in Hungary; where Amurath found an antagonist worthy of himself, in the celebrated John Hunniades, vaivode of Transilvania, and general to Ladislaus VI. king of Poland, whom the Hungarians had

9 Æneas Sylvius, *Europ.* Mosheim, *Hist. Eccles.* vol. iii. Besides acknowledging that the Roman pontiff was the supreme judge, the true head of the universal church, the Greek emperor and his bishops were obliged to admit, That the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Son, as well as from the Father, and that departed souls are purified in the infernal regions, by a certain kind of fire, before their introduction to the presence or participation of the vision of the Deity. Mosheim, ubi sup.

raiſed to their throne. This great commander obliged the ſultan to raiſe the ſiege of Belgrade; defeated him in a general engagement, and made him ſue for peace. Amurath and Ladiſlaus accordingly concluded a ſolemn truce of ten years; to which the one ſwore upon the Koran, the other upon the Goſpels: and the ſultan, tired of the toils of empire, reſigned the ſceptre to his ſon, Mahomet II. But an atrocious perfidy, diſgraceful to the Chriſtian name, obliged him to reſume it, to the confuſion of his enemies.

A. D. 1444.

The Turks, repoſing on the faith of the treaty, which they religiouſly obſerved, had carried their forces into Aſia. This ſeemed a favourable opportunity to attack them on the ſide of Europe: and cardinal Julian Cæſarini, the pope's legate in Germany, a man of a violent and deceitful character, who had ſignalized himſelf in the cruſade againſt the Huſſites, perſuaded Ladiſlaus that the treaty with the Turks was of no obligation, as it had been concluded without the conſent of his Holineſs; and that it not only might, but ought to be violated. The pope confirmed this opinion; ordered the truce to be broke, and releaſed Ladiſlaus from his oath. In ſo doing, he acted according to the eſtabliſhed uſage of the church of Rome, and in conformity with the maxim, that "no faith is to be kept with heretics," and conſequently not with infidels:—one of the moſt pernicious doctrines ever deviſed by ſuperſtition; a doctrine which not only contradicts the firſt principles of reaſon and conſcience, but which, if carried into practice, muſt deſtroy all moral and political order. It would authoriſe enemies to ſport even with oaths; put an end to public faith, diſſolve the links of ſociety, and ſubſtitute robbery and bloodſhed, inſtead of the laws of nations and the ties of duty.

The arguments of the pope and his legate however prevailed. All the Poliſh and Hungarian chiefs, except the brave Hunniades, ſuffered themſelves to be carried away by the torrent; and Ladiſlaus, ſeduced by falſe hopes, and in-

fluenced by false principles, invaded the sultan's territories. The Turks, enraged at such a breach of faith, breathed nothing but vengeance. The janizaries went in a body to beg Amurath to quit his retreat, and put himself at their head, his son Mahomet being yet young and inexperienced. He consented, and marched in quest of the Christian army, which he found encamped near the city of Varna, in Moldavia. Ladislaus was ready to receive him, and both armies joined battle. Amurath wore in his bosom the treaty which had been so solemnly sworn to, and so shamefully violated: he held it up in the height of the engagement, when he found the vigour of his troops beginning to slacken, appealing to God, as a witness of the perjury of the Christians, and beseeching him to avenge the insult offered to the laws of nations. Perjury for once received its just reward. The Christians were defeated with great slaughter, after an obstinate resistance. Ladislaus fell with his sword in his hand, all covered with wounds: cardinal Julian sunk by his side; and ten thousand Poles, who guarded their monarch, covered with their dead bodies nearly the same ground on which they were drawn up[10]. Amurath, thus victorious, resigned once more the rod of empire: what a rare example of philosophy in a Turk! and was again obliged to resume it. Nov. 10.

The person who drew the sultan a second time from his retreat, was George Castriot, surnamed Scanderbeg, the son of a prince of Albania, formerly Epirus. This young hero had been delivered as an hostage on the subjection of his father's kingdom; had been educated in the court of Amurath, and had risen into favour by his valour and talents. But he still cherished the idea of becoming one day the deliverer of his country: and a favourable opportunity at last offered. He had been sent with the command of an army

10. Mat. de Michov. lib. iv. Herbert de Fulstin, lib. xiv. P. Cantemir, ubi sup.

into

into Servia, when he heard of his father's death; and as he understood a secretary of the Ottoman court was to pass near his camp, he caused him to be seized, loaded with chains, and compelled him to sign and put the sultan's signet to an order, enjoining the governor of Croia, the capital of Albania, to deliver up the town and citadel to himself. This false order had the desired effect. The place was delivered up, and Scanderbeg massacred the Turkish garrison. The Albanians crowded to his standard; and he made so good an use of the mountainous situation of his country, as to defy all the efforts of the sultan's power[11].

Amurath was succeeded in his extensive dominions by his son Mahomet II. justly surnamed the Great, who had been formerly crowned, and obeyed as emperor, but had resigned to his father the reins of government, as you have already seen, on account of the exigencies of the times; an example of moderation no less extraordinary than the philosophy of Amurath in retiring from the honours of empire in the hour of victory, especially as Mahomet was naturally of a fiery and ambitious temper. The character of this prince has been very differently represented by historians. Voltaire is his professed panegyrist; and in order to free him from the imputation of certain cruel and ferocious actions, has combated the most incontestible facts. Other writers have gone equal lengths to degrade him: he has been painted as a rude and ignorant barbarian, as well as a scholar and a patron of the liberal arts. But they who would do justice to the character of Mahomet, must trace it by other lineaments. He was both a scholar and a barbarian: he united the knowledge of the one to the savage ferocity of the other. He was enlightened, but not civilized. With some taste for the liberal arts, or at least some sense of the value of their productions, he entertained a general contempt for their professors: the Turk always predominated.

A. D. 1451.

11. P. Cantemir. Sir Paul Ricaut.

He was a warrior and a politician in the moſt extenſive meaning of the words: as ſuch he was truly great: and whether we conſider the conception or the execution of his enterprizes, we ſhall find equal cauſe to admire the extent of his underſtanding and the vigour of his ſpirit. His firſt enterprize was againſt Conſtantinople, which had ſo long been the object of the ambition of his anceſtors.

The Greek emperor, John Paleologus II. had been ſucceeded in 1449, by his ſon Conſtantine. This prince poſſeſſed courage, but little capacity. He took care, however, to ſtrengthen the fortifications of his capital, as ſoon as he was appriſed of the deſigns of Mahomet: and he made many advances to the ſultan, in order to conciliate matters, and induce him to lay aſide his project. But Mahomet's reſolution was taken. Though only twenty-one years of age when he aſcended the Ottoman throne, he had already conceived the deſign of making Conſtantinople the ſeat of his empire; and nothing could divert him from his purpoſe. If he ſometimes ſeemed to liſten to terms of accommodation, it was only that he might lull his enemies into ſecurity, while he carried on his military preparations with unremitted aſſiduity. At laſt he cut off all communication with the city, both by ſea and land, and laid ſiege to it in form. Though the garriſon was but ſmall, the walls were defended with great gallantry on the land ſide, the Greeks being actuated by the courage of deſpair: and the Turks were incapable of annoying them from the ſea, by reaſon of large chains and booms which ſecured the mouth of the harbour. But nothing is impoſſible to human genius, when aided by the neceſſary force. In order to overcome this difficulty, Mahomet cauſed a paſſage of near two leagues to be dug over land, in the form of a ſhip's cradle, lined with planks, beſmeared with greaſe; and by the help of engines, and a prodigious number of men, he drew up, in the ſpace of one night, eighty gallies, and ſeventy veſſels of ſmaller ſize, out of the water, upon theſe planks, and launched them all into

A. D. 1453.

the harbour[12]. What muſt have been the ſurprize of the beſieged at morning, to behold a large fleet riding in their port, and yet all their booms ſecure!

The city was now aſſailed on all ſides. Mahomet cauſed a bridge of boats to be built acroſs the harbour, upon which he raiſed a battery of cannon. And here I cannot help remarking, that the artillery of the Greeks muſt have been very indifferent, or very ill ſerved, otherwiſe this bridge could never have been built. The cannon employed by the Turks, are ſaid to have been of an enormous ſize, ſome of them carrying balls of one hundred pounds weight. With theſe great guns they beat down the walls faſter than the beſieged could repair them: a body of janizaries entered the breach, with Mahomet at their head, while another broke in at a ſally-port. The emperor Conſtantine, whoſe valour merited a more diſtinguiſhed fate, was ſlain among the crowd, and his capital became a prey to the conqueror. But for the honour of Mahomet II. I muſt obſerve, that few of the garriſon were put to the ſword. He arreſted the fury of his troops, and granted conditions to the inhabitants, who had ſent deputies to implore his clemency[13]. They were allowed a magiſtrate to decide their civil differences, a patriarch, and the public exerciſe of their religion. This ſpiritual indulgence they ſtill enjoy, under certain limitations, and alſo their patriarch, and the benefit of their civil magiſtrate.

Here I might remark, as has been remarked by graver hiſtorians, that Conſtantinople (built by the firſt Chriſtian emperor, whoſe name it bears) ſubmitted to the Turks under a Conſtantine, and Rome to the Barbarians under an Auguſtus!—but ſuch accidental coincidence of names and circumſtances, is more worthy the notice of a monkiſh chronologer than an obſerver of human nature.

Mahomet continued to puſh his conqueſts on all ſides, and with unvaried fortune, till he received a check from John Hunniades, who obliged him to raiſe the ſiege of Belgrade.

12. Ducas. Cantemir.

13. Cantemir. Ricaut.

The

The knights of Rhodes, at present of Malta, opposed him in their island with like success. But he subdued Albania, after the death of Scanderbeg; and Trebisond, where the family of Comnenus had preserved an image of the Greek empire. He carried his arms on the other side as far as Trieste; took Otranto, and fixed the Mahometan power in the heart of Calabria [14]. He threatened Venice and Rome itself with subjection; hoping to make himself master of Italy, as well as of Greece; and then the triumph of barbarism would have been complete. All Europe trembled at his motions: and well it might; for Europe, unless united, must have sunk beneath his sword. But death freed Christendom from this terrible conqueror, at an age when he might have executed the greatest enterprizes, being only in his fifty-first year. His descendants, however, still possess the finest country in our quarter of the globe. Greece, where civil liberty was first known, and where arts and letters were first brought to perfection, continues to be the seat of ignorance, barbarism, and despotism.

A. D. 1456.

A. D. 1461.

14. Ibid.

LETTER LI.

SPAIN, *from the Death of* PETER *the* CRUEL, *in* 1369, *till the Conquest of* GRANADA, *by* FERDINAND *and* ISABELLA, *in* 1492.

PETER the Cruel, my dear Philip, after being deserted by the Black Prince, on account of his perfidy, was subdued and slain, as you have already seen, by his bastard brother Henry, count of Trastamara, who succeeded to the throne of Castile. Nothing remarkable happened during the reign of this prince, or under his

A. D. 1369.

his descendants, for almost a century. They were engaged in frequent wars with their neighbours, the kings of Portugal and Arragon. But these wars were seldom decisive; so that Spain continued in nearly the same situation, from the death of Peter till the reign of Henry IV. of Castile, whose debaucheries roused the resentment of his nobles, and produced a most singular insurrection, which led to the aggrandisement of the Spanish monarchy.

A. D. 1454.

This prince, surnamed the Impotent, though continually surrounded with women, began his unhappy reign in 1454. He was totally enervated by his pleasures; and every thing in his court conspired to set the Castilians an example of the most abject flattery, and most abandoned licentiousness. The queen, a daughter of Portugal, lived as openly with her parasites and her gallants, as the king did with his minions and his mistresses. Pleasure was the only object, and effeminacy the only recommendation to favour. The affairs of the state went every day into greater disorder; until the nobility, with the archbishop of Toledo at their head, combined against the weak and flagitious administration of Henry; arrogated to themselves, as one of the privileges of their order, the right of trying and passing sentence on their sovereign, which they executed in a manner unprecedented in history.

A. D. 1464.

All the malcontent nobility was summoned to meet at Avila. A spacious theatre was erected in a plain, without the walls of the town; an image, representing the king, was seated on the throne, clad in royal robes, with a crown on its head, a sceptre in its hand, and the sword of justice by its side. The accusation against Henry was read, and the sentence of deposition pronounced, in presence of a numerous assembly. At the close of the first article of the charge, the archbishop of Toledo advanced, and tore the crown from the head of the image; at the close of the second, the Conde de Placentia snatched the sword of justice from its side; at the close of the third, the Conde de

Benevent

Benevente wrested the sceptre from its hand; and at the close of the last, Don Diego Lopez de Stuniga tumbled it headlong from the throne. At the same instant, Don Alphonzo, Henry's brother, a boy about twelve years of age, was proclaimed king of Castile and Leon in his stead [1].

This extraordinary proceeding was followed by all the horrors of civil war, which did not cease till some time after the death of the young prince, on whom the nobles had bestowed the kingdom. The archbishop and his party then continued to carry on war in the name of Isabella, the king's sister, to whom they gave the title of Infanta; and Henry could not extricate himself out of these troubles, nor remain quiet upon his throne, till he had signed one of the most humiliating treaties ever extorted from a sovereign. He acknowledged his sister Isabella the only lawful heiress of his kingdom, in prejudice to the rights of his reputed daughter Joan, whom the malcontents affirmed to be the offspring of an adulterous commerce between the queen and Don la Cueva [2]. At such a price did this weak prince purchase from his subjects the empty title of king!

The grand object of the malcontent party now was, the marriage of the princess Isabella; upon which, it was evident, the security of the crown and the happiness of the people must in a great measure depend. The alliance was sought by several princes. The king of Portugal offered her his hand; the king of France demanded her for his brother, and the king of Arragon for his son Ferdinand. The malcontents wisely preferred the Arragonian prince, and Isabella prudently made the same choice. Articles were drawn up, and they were privately married by the archbishop of Toledo [3].

A. D. 1469.

Henry was enraged at this alliance, which he foresaw would utterly ruin his authority, by furnishing his rebellious

1. Mariana, lib. xxiii. Diego Henriques del Castillo.
2. Rod. Sanctii, *Hist. Hisp. Chron. del Rey Don Henriq.*
3. *Zurit. Annal. Arrag.* Mariana, ubi sup.

subjects

subjects with the support of a powerful neighbouring prince. He disinherited his sister, and established the right of his daughter. A furious civil war desolated the kingdom. The names of Joan and Isabella resounded from every quarter, and were every where the summons to arms. But peace was at length brought about. Henry was reconciled to his sister and to Ferdinand, though it does not appear that he ever renewed Isabella's right to the succession; for he affirmed in his last moments, that he believed Joan to be his own daughter. The queen swore to the same effect; and Henry left a testamentary deed, transmitting the crown to this princess, who was proclaimed queen of Castile at Placentia. But the superior fortune, and superior arms, of Ferdinand and Isabella prevailed: the king of Portugal was obliged to abandon his niece and intended bride, after many ineffectual struggles and several years of war. Joan sunk into a convent, when she hoped to ascend a throne; and the death of Ferdinand's father, which happened about this time, added the kingdoms of Arragon and Sicily to those of Leon and Castile [4].

A. D. 1474.

A. D. 1479.

Ferdinand and Isabella were persons of great prudence, and as sovereigns highly worthy of imitation; but they did not seem to have merited all the praises bestowed upon them by the Spanish historians. They did not live like man and wife, having all things in common under the direction of the husband, but like two princes in close alliance. They neither loved nor hated each other; were seldom in company together; had each a separate council, and were frequently jealous of one another in the administration. But they were inseparably united in their common interests; always acting upon the same principles, and forwarding the same ends. Their first object was the regulation of their government, which the civil wars had thrown into the greatest disorder. Rapine, outrage, and murder were become

4. Id. Ibid.

so

ſo common, as not only to interrupt commerce, but in a great meaſure to ſuſpend all intercourſe between one place and another. Theſe evils the joint ſovereigns ſuppreſſed by their wiſe policy, at the ſame time that they extended the royal prerogative [5].

About the middle of the thirteenth century the cities in the kingdom of Arragon, and after their example thoſe in Caſtile, had formed themſelves into an aſſociation, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Holy Brotherhood. They exacted a certain contribution from each of the aſſociated towns; they levied a conſiderable body of troops, in order to protect travellers, and purſue criminals; and they appointed judges, who opened courts in various parts of the kingdom. Whoever was guilty of murder, robbery, or any act that violated the public peace, and was ſeized by the troops of the Brotherhood, was carried before their judges; who, without paying any regard to the excluſive juriſdiction which the lord of the place might claim, who was generally the author or abettor of the injuſtice, tried and condemned the criminals. The nobles often murmured againſt this ſalutary inſtitution; they complained of it as an encroachment on one of their moſt valuable privileges, and endeavoured to get it aboliſhed. But Ferdinand and Iſabella, ſenſible of the beneficial effects of the Brotherhood, not only in regard to the police of their kingdoms, but in its tendency to abridge, and by degrees to annihilate, the territorial juriſdiction of the nobility, countenanced the inſtitution upon every occaſion, and ſupported it with the whole force of royal authority. By theſe means the prompt and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice was reſtored, and with it tranquillity and order returned [6].

But at the ſame time their *Catholic Majeſties* (for ſuch was the title they now bore, conferred on them by the pope) were giving vigour to civil government, and ſecuring their ſubjects

5. Zurita. Mariana. Zuniga. 6. Ibid.

from violence and oppreſſion, an intemperate zeal led them to eſtabliſh an eccleſiaſtical tribunal, equally contrary to the natural rights of mankind, and the mild ſpirit of the Goſpel. I mean the court of Inquiſition; which decides upon the honour, fortune, and even life of the unhappy wretch, who happens to fall under the ſuſpicion of hereſy, or a contempt of any thing preſcribed by the church, without his knowing his accuſers, being confronted with them, or permitted either defence or appeal. Six thouſand perſons were burnt by order of this ſanguinary tribunal, within four years after the appointment of Torquemada, the firſt inquiſitor-general, and upwards of one hundred thouſand felt its fury. The ſame zeal, however, which led to the depopulation, and the barbarizing of Caſtile and Arragon, led alſo to their aggrandiſement.

A. D. 1480.

The kingdom of Granada now alone remained of all the Mahometan poſſeſſions in Spain. Princes equally zealous and ambitious, like Ferdinand and Iſabella, were naturally diſpoſed to turn their eyes on that fertile territory; and to think of increaſing their hereditary dominions, by expelling the enemies of Chriſtianity, and extending its doctrines. Every thing conſpired to favour their project. The Mooriſh kingdom was a prey to civil wars, when Ferdinand, having obtained a bull from Sixtus IV. authoriſing a cruſade, put himſelf at the head of his troops, and entered Granada. He continued the war with rapid ſucceſs. Iſabella attended him in ſeveral expeditions: and they were both in great danger at the ſiege of Malaga, an important city, which was defended with great courage, and taken in 1487. Baza was reduced in 1489, after the loſs of twenty thouſand men. Guadix and Almeria were delivered up to them by the Mooriſh king Alzagel, who had at firſt dethroned his brother Alboacen, and afterwards been chaſed from his capital, by his nephew Abdali. That prince, ſo blind or ſo baſe, as to confound the ruin of his country with

A. D. 1483.

the humiliation of his rival, engaged in the ſervice of Ferdinand and Iſabella; who, after reducing every other place of eminence, undertook the ſiege of Granada. Abdali made a gallant defence; but all communication with the country being cut off, and all hopes of relief at an end, he capitulated, after a ſiege of eight months, on condition that he ſhould enjoy the revenue of certain places in the fertile mountains of Alpujarros; that the inhabitants ſhould retain the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of their houſes, goods, and inheritances; the uſe of their laws, and the free exerciſe of their religion [7]. A. D. 1492.

Thus ended the empire of the Arabs in Spain, after it had continued about eight hundred years. They introduced the arts and ſciences into Europe, at a time when it was loſt in darkneſs; they poſſeſſed many of the luxuries of life, when they were not even known among the neighbouring nations; and they ſeem to have given birth to that romantic gallantry, which ſo eminently prevailed in the ages of chivalry, and which, blending itſelf with the veneration of the northern nations for the ſofter ſex, ſtill particularly diſtinguiſhes modern from ancient manners. But the Moors, notwithſtanding theſe advantages, and the eulogies beſtowed upon them by Voltaire and other writers, appear to have been always deſtitute of the eſſential qualities of a poliſhed people; humanity, generoſity, and mutual ſympathy.

The conqueſt of Granada was followed by the expulſion, or rather the pillage or baniſhment of the Jews, who had engroſſed all the wealth and commerce of Spain. The inquiſition exhauſted its rage againſt theſe unhappy people, many of whom pretended to embrace Chriſtianity, in order to preſerve their property. About the ſame time their Catholic Majeſties concluded an alliance with the emperor Maximilian, and a treaty of marriage for their daughter Joan with his ſon Philip, archduke of Auſtria, and ſovereign

7. Fran. Bermud. de Pedraza, *Antiq. Excel. de Granad.* Mariana. Hernan. del Pulgar.

of the Netherlands. About this time also the contract was concluded with Christopher Columbus for the discovery of *new* countries; and the counties of Roussillon and Cerdagne were agreed to be restored by Charles VIII. of France, before his expedition into Italy. But the consequences of these measures, and the interest which Ferdinand took in the Italian wars, must form the subject of future Letters.

I should now, my dear Philip, return to the great line of European history; but, for the sake of perspicuity, I shall first make you acquainted with the affairs of England under Henry VII. as his son Henry VIII. had a considerable share in the continental transactions, and derived his importance chiefly from the prudent policy of his father.

LETTER LII.

ENGLAND, *during the Reign of* HENRY VII.

HENRY VII. the first prince of the house of Tudor, ascended the throne of England, as you have already seen, in consequence of the victory at Bosworth, and the death of Richard III. His title was confirmed by the parliament: his merit was known; and his marriage with the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of Edward IV. united the jarring claims of the houses of York and Lancaster, and seemed to give universal satisfaction to the nation. He had therefore every reason to promise himself peace and security.

A. D. 1485.

But Henry, although in many respects a prudent and politic prince, had unhappily imbibed a violent antipathy against the adherents of the house of York, which no time or experience was ever able to efface. Instead of embracing the present favourable opportunity of abolishing party distinctions,

tions, by beſtowing his ſmile indiſcriminately on the friends of both families, he carried to the throne all the partialities that belong to the head of a faction. To exalt the Lancaſtrian party, and depreſs the retainers of the houſe of York, were ſtill the favourite ideas of his mind. The houſe of York was generally beloved by the nation; and for that very reaſon it became every day more the object of Henry's hatred and averſion: hence his amiable conſort was treated with contempt, his government grew unpopular, and his reign was filled with plots and inſurrections.

The firſt inſurrection was headed by the viſcount Lovel, ſir Humphry Stafford, and Thomas, his brother, who had all fought in the cauſe of Richard, and againſt whom, among many others, the parliament, at Henry's inſtigation, had paſſed an act of attainder; though it is not conceivable, how men could be guilty of treaſon for ſupporting the king in poſſeſſion againſt the earl of Richmond, to whom they had never ſworn allegiance, and who had not even aſſumed the title of king. Enraged at ſuch an inſtance of ſeverity, they left their ſanctuary at Colcheſter, and flew to arms. The king ſent the duke of Bedford againſt them with a choſen body of troops, and a promiſe of pardon to ſuch as would return to their duty. Lovel, afraid of the fidelity of his followers, privately withdrew, and fled to Flanders. His army ſubmitted to the king's clemency. The other rebels, who had undertaken the ſiege of Worceſter, immediately diſperſed themſelves. The two Staffords took ſanctuary in the church of Colnham, a village near Abingdon; but as it was found that church had not the privilege of protecting rebels, they were taken thence. The elder was executed at Tyburn, the younger obtained a pardon [1]. A. D. 1486.

This rebellion was immediately followed by another, of a more dangerous nature, as it laid deeper hold of the public diſcontents. Henry's jealouſy confined in the Tower Ed-

1. Polyd. Virg.

ward Plantagenet, earl of Warwick, ſon of the duke of Clarence. This unhappy prince had been formerly detained, in a like confinement, at Sheriff-Hutton in Yorkſhire, by the jealouſy of his uncle Richard. A compariſon was drawn between Henry and that tyrant; and as the Tower was the place where Edward's children had been murdered, a fate not more gentle was feared for Warwick. While the compaſſion of the nation was thus turned towards youth and innocence, expoſed to oppreſſion, a report was ſpread, that Warwick had made his eſcape. A general joy communicated itſelf from face to face, and many ſeemed deſirous to join him. Such a favourable opportunity was not neglected by the enemies of Henry's government.

One Richard Simon, a prieſt of Oxford, and a zealous partizan of the houſe of York, attempted to gratify the popular wiſh by holding up an impoſtor to the nation. For this purpoſe he caſt his eyes upon Lambert Simnel, a baker's ſon, who being endowed with underſtanding beyond his years, and addreſs above his condition, ſeemed well calculated to perſonate a prince of royal extraction. Simnel was taught to aſſume the name and character of the earl of Warwick; and he ſoon appeared ſo perfect in many private particulars relative to that unfortunate prince, to the court of king Edward, and the royal family, that the queen-dowager was ſuppoſed to have given him a leſſon. But how apt ſoever father Simon might find his pupil, or whatever means he might take to procure him inſtruction, he was ſenſible that the impoſture would not bear a cloſe inſpection; he therefore determined to make trial of it firſt in Ireland.

That iſland was zealouſly attached to the houſe of York, and bore an affectionate regard to the memory of Clarence, Warwick's father, who had reſided there as lord lieutenant; and Henry had been ſo impolitic as to allow it to remain in the ſame condition in which he found it. All the officers appointed by his predeceſſor ſtill retained their authority; ſo that Simnel no ſooner preſented himſelf to Thomas earl of

Kildare,

Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick, than that credulous nobleman believed his tale, and embraced his cauſe. Other noblemen, to whom he communicated the fiction, were no leſs ſanguine in their zeal and belief: the ſtory diffuſed itſelf among the people of inferior condition, naturally more violent and credulous, who liſtened to it with ſtill greater ardour; and the inhabitants of Dublin, with one conſent, tendered their allegiance to Simnel, as the true Plantagenet. They lodged the pretended prince in the caſtle of Dublin, crowned him with a diadem taken from a ſtatue of the bleſſed Virgin, and publicly proclaimed him king, under the appellation of Edward VI. The whole iſland followed the example of the capital: not a ſword was drawn in favour of Henry [2].

The king was a good deal alarmed, when he received intelligence of this revolt. Though determined always to face his enemies, he ſcrupled at preſent to leave England, where he ſuſpected the conſpiracy had been framed, and where he knew many perſons of condition, and the people in general, were diſpoſed to give it countenance. He therefore held frequent conſultations with his miniſters and counſellors relative to the meaſures moſt proper for the ſafety of his kingdom, and the means of diſcovering the origin of the impoſture. In conſequence of theſe deliberations, the queen-dowager was taken into cuſtody, and confined in the nunnery of Bermondeſey for life. Unwilling, however, to accuſe ſo near a relation of a conſpiracy againſt him, the king alledged, that ſhe was thus puniſhed for yielding up the princeſs Elizabeth, now queen, to the tyrant Richard, after ſhe had been ſecretly promiſed to him. Henry's next ſtep was no leſs deliberate. He ordered Warwick to be taken from the Tower, led in proceſſion through the ſtreets of London, conducted to St. Paul's, and there expoſed to the view of the whole people [3]. This expedient had its full effect in Eng-

2. Ibid.

3. Bacon's *Hiſt. of Henry VII.*

land, but in Ireland the people ſtill perſiſted in their revolt; and Henry had ſoon reaſon to apprehend, that the attempt to diſturb his government was not laid on ſuch ſlight foundations, as the means employed ſeemed to indicate.

John earl of Lincoln, ſon of John de la Pole, duke of Suffolk, and of Elizabeth, eldeſt ſiſter of Edward IV. was engaged to take part in the conſpiracy. This nobleman, alarmed at the king's jealouſy of all eminent perſons of the York party, and more eſpecially at his rigour towards Warwick, had retired into Flanders, where lord Lovel was arrived a little before him. He reſided ſome time in the court of his aunt, the ducheſs of Burgundy, by whom he had been invited over. Margaret's boſom flamed with indignation againſt the oppreſſor of her family: and ſhe determined to make him repent of his unreaſonable enmity. After conſulting with Lincoln and Lovel, ſhe therefore hired a body of

A. D. 1487. two thouſand veteran Germans, under the command of Martin Swart, a brave and experienced officer, and ſent them over along with theſe noblemen to join Simnel in Ireland.

The courage of the Iriſh was much raiſed by this acceſſion of military force, and the countenance of perſons of ſuch high rank; ſo that thay formed the bold reſolution of invading England, where they believed the ſpirit of diſaffection to be no leſs prevalent than in Ireland. They accordingly landed at Foudrey in Lancaſhire, and were joined by ſir Thomas Broughton, a man of great intereſt in that county; but the people in general, averſe againſt an aſſociation with Iriſh and German invaders, convinced of Simnel's impoſture, and kept in awe by the king's reputation in arms, either remained in tranquillity or gave aſſiſtance to the royal army, which was advancing towards the enemy. The earl of Lincoln, therefore, who commanded the rebels, finding no hopes but in victory, determined to bring the matter to a ſpeedy deciſion; and Henry, emboldened by his native courage no leſs than by the ſuperiority of his numbers, intrepidly

advanced

advanced to the combat. The two armies met at Stoke, in the county of Nottingham, where a bloody and obstinate battle was fought. All the leaders of the rebels were resolved to conquer or die, and they inspired troops with the like resolution. They were at last, however, obliged to give way; and if Henry's victory was purchased with loss, it was entirely decisive. Lincoln, Broughton, and Swart, perished in the field of battle, together with four thousand of their followers. Lovel is supposed to have undergone the same fate, as he was never more heard of. Simnel and his tutor Simon were taken prisoners. Simon was committed to close custody for life: and his sacred character only could have saved him from a severer fate. Simnel was too contemptible either to excite apprehension or resentment in Henry: he was therefore pardoned, and employed as a scullion in the king's kitchen; from which condition he was afterwards advanced to the rank of one of his majesty's falconers [4]. June 6.

Henry having thus restored tranquillity to his kingdom, and security to his government, had leisure not only to regulate his domestic affairs, but also to look abroad. From Scotland, the most contiguous state, he had nothing to fear. There reigned James III. a prince of little industry and narrow genius. With him Henry concluded a treaty, when he might have demanded his crown: so truly pacific was the disposition of this monarch!—Of the states on the continent I have already spoken. They were fast hastening that situation, in which they have remained, without any material alteration, for near three centuries. The balance of power began to be understood. Spain was become formidable by the union of the crowns of Arragon and Castile, in the persons of Ferdinand and Isabella; but these princes were employed in wresting Granada from the Moors. France, during the last fifty years, had made a mighty increase in power and dominion: and she was now attempting to swallow up

4. Polyd. Virg. Bacon, ubi sup.

Britanny,

Britanny, the laſt independent fief of the monarchy. England alone was both enabled by her power, and engaged by her intereſts, to ſupport the independency of that duchy; the moſt dangerous oppoſition was therefore expected from this quarter. But Henry's parſimonious tem[illegible] narrow politics, as I have had occaſion to mention in the hiſtory of France, prevented him from yielding the Bretons any effectual ſupport; and Maximilian, king of the Romans, to whom they afterwards applied, being unable to protect them, they were obliged to ſubmit to the arms of Charles VIII. who prudently married the heireſs of that duchy, in order to conciliate their affections.

A. D. 1491.

Henry, who ſaw the importance of Britanny to France, and who valued himſelf on his extenſive foreſight and ſound judgment, was now aſhamed of having allowed his moſt uſeful ally to be cruſhed by a ſuperior power. All remedy for his miſcarriage was become impracticable, but he talked loudly of vengeance. The conqueſt of France, in his language, was an eaſy matter: and he ſet out on that enterprize at the head of a ſplendid army, after obtaining large ſupplies from his parliament. The nobility, who had credulouſly ſwallowed all the boaſts of the king, were univerſally ſeized with a thirſt of military glory: they dreamed of nothing leſs than carrying their triumphant banners to the gates of Paris, and putting the crown of France on the head of their ſovereign. Henry, in the mean time, had nothing leſs at heart than war; the gratification of his ruling paſſion was the only purpoſe of this mighty armament; avarice being in him a more powerful motive than either revenge or glory. Secret advances had been made toward peace before his invaſion, and commiſſioners had been appointed to treat of the terms. The demands of Henry where wholly pecuniary; and the king of France, who deemed the peaceable poſſeſſion of Britanny an equivalent for any ſum, and who was all on fire for his projected expedition into Italy, readily agreed to the propoſals made him.

A. D. 1492.

He

He engaged, by the treaty of Estaples, concluded about a month after the English landed in France, to pay Henry seven hundred and forty-five thousand Nov. 3. crowns; partly as a reimbursement of the sums advanced to the duchess of Britanny, partly as arrears of the pension due to Edward IV. and not hitherto discharged:—and he stipulated a yearly pension to Henry and his heirs of twenty-five thousand crowns [5].

Thus, as lord Bacon observes, the English monarch made profit upon his subjects for the war, and upon his enemies for the peace. But although the treaty of Estaples filled the coffers of Henry, it did very little honour to England; as it put a shameful seal to the subjection of Britanny, which, properly supported, would have been a continual thorn in the side of France, and have effectually prevented that monarchy from ever becoming formidable to the liberties of Europe. The people however agreed, that the king had fulfilled the promise which he made to the parliament when he said, that he would make the war maintain itself, and all ranks of men seemed now perfectly satisfied with his government. He had every reason to flatter himself with durable peace and tranquillity. His authority was fully established at home, and his reputation for policy was great abroad: the hopes of all pretenders to his throne were cut off, as well by his marriage, as the issue which it had brought him; yet at this height of his prosperity, his indefatigable enemies raised against him an adversary, who long gave him inquietude, and sometimes even brought him into danger.

The old duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. still burning with resentment on account of the depression of her family and its partizans, determined to play off another impostor upon Henry. With that view she caused a report to be propagated, that her nephew, Richard Plantagenet, duke of York, had made his escape from the Tower, when his el-

5. Ibid.

der brother was murdered, and that he was ſtill alive. Finding this rumour greedily received, her next care was to provide a young man proper to perſonate the unfortunate prince: and for that purpoſe ſhe fixed upon Perkin Warbec, the ſon of a renegado Jew of Tournay.

This youth was born in England, and by ſome believed to be the ſon of Edward IV. on account of a certain reſemblance obſervable between him and that amorous monarch. A few years after the birth of Perkin, his reputed father returned to Tournay; where his ſon did not long remain, but, by different accidents, was carried from place to place; ſo that his parentage and paſt life became thereby unknown, and difficult to be traced by the moſt diligent enquiry. The variety of his adventures had happily favoured the natural verſatility and ſagacity of his genius; and he ſeemed to be a youth perfectly fitted to act any part, or aſſume any character. In this light he had been repreſented to the ducheſs of Burgundy, who immediately deſired to ſee him, and found him to exceed her moſt ſanguine expectations; ſo comely did he appear in his perſon! ſo graceful in his air! ſo courtly in his addreſs! ſo full of dignity in his whole demeanour, and good ſenſe in his converſation!

A young man of ſuch quick apprehenſion ſoon learned the leſſons neceſſary to be taught him in order to his perſonating the duke of York; but as ſome time was required, before every thing requiſite could be prepared for this enterprize, Margaret ſent him into Portugal, where he remained a year, unknown to all the world. When that term was expired he landed in Ireland, which ſtill retained its attachment to the houſe of York: and immediately aſſuming to himſelf the name of Richard Plantagenet, there drew to him many partizans among that ignorant and credulous people. The news of this phænomenon reached France; and Charles VIII. prompted by the ſecret ſolicitations of the ducheſs of Burgundy, ſent Perkin an invitation to viſit him at at Paris. The impoſtor repaired to the court of France, where

where he was received with all the marks of respect due to the duke of York. The whole kingdom was full of the accomplishments, as well as the singular adventures and misfortunes of the young Plantagenet. From France, the tide of admiration and credulity diffused itself into England; and sir George Nevil, sir John Taylor, and above a hundred gentlemen more, went over to Paris, in order to offer their services to the supposed duke of York, and to share his fortunes.

Perkin however was dismissed France, in consequence of the peace of Estaples. He now retired to the duchess of Burgundy, craving her protection, and offering to exhibit before her all the proofs of that birth to which he laid claim. Margaret affected ignorance of his pretensions; she even put on the appearance of distrust, and desired to be instructed, before all the world, in his reasons for assuming the name which he bore. She put many particular questions to him, seemed astonished at his answers, and at last burst into joy and admiration of his wonderful deliverance, embracing him as her nephew; the true image of Edward, the sole heir of the Plantagenets, and the legitimate successor to the English throne. She assigned him an equipage suitable to his pretended birth, appointed him a guard, engaged every one to pay court to him, and on all occasions honoured him with the appellation of *The White Rose of England*.

A. D. 1493.

The Flemings, swayed by Margaret's authority, readily adopted the fiction of Perkin's royal descent; and as no surmise of his real birth had yet been given, the English from their frequent communication with the Low Countries, were every day more and more prepossessed in favour of the impostor. Not only the populace, ever fond of novelty and desirous of change, but men of the highest birth and quality, disgusted at the severity of Henry's government, began to turn their eyes towards this new claimant. Their passions and prejudices inclined them to give credit to Perkin's pre-

 tensions;

tensions; and as little opposition had been made to the prevailing opinion, a regular conspiracy was formed against the king's authority, and a correspondence settled between the malcontents in Flanders and those in England[6].

Henry was informed of all these particulars, and proceeded resolutely, though deliberately, in counter-working the designs of his enemies. His first object was, to ascertain the death of the real duke of York, which he was able to do with a tolerable degree of certainty, two of the persons concerned in the murder being yet alive, and agreeing in the same story. But he found more difficulty, though in the end he was no less successful, in discovering who the extraordinary person was, that so boldly advanced pretensions to his crown. For this purpose he dispersed his spies over all Flanders and England; he engaged many to pretend that they had embraced Perkin's party; he bribed the young man's servants, his confidants, and even his confessor. By these means, he was at last made acquainted with the whole plan of the conspiracy, and with the pedigree, adventures, life, and conversation of the pretended duke of York.

The impostor's story was immediately published for the satisfaction of the nation; and as soon as Henry's projects were matured, he made the conspirators feel the weight of his resentment. Almost in the same instant he arrested lord Fitzwalter, sir Simon Mountfort, and sir Thomas Thwaites, who were convicted of high treason for promising to aid Perkin, and presently executed. Sir William Stanley, the lord high chamberlain, was also arrested; but greater and more solemn preparations were thought necessary for the trial of a man, whose authority in the nation, and whose domestic intimacy with the king, as well as his former services, seemed to secure him against any accusation or punishment. Henry however was determined to take vengeance on all his enemies. He therefore won over

A. D. 1494.

6. Polyd. Virg. Bacon, *Hist. Hen. VII.*

Sir

Sir Robert Clifford, Perkin's particular confidant, who, returning to England, on a promise of pardon, accused Stanley as his chief abettor; and after six weeks delay, which was interposed in order to shew the king's lenity and coolness, the chamberlain was brought to his trial, condemned, and beheaded [7]. A. D. 1495.

The fate of Stanley made great impression on the minds of the people, and struck Perkin's adherents with the deepest dismay; as they found from Clifford's desertion, that all their secrets were betrayed. The jealous and severe temper of the king kept men in awe, and quelled not only the movements of sedition, but the very murmurs of faction. A general distrust took place: all mutual confidence was destroyed, even among particular friends. Henry, in the mean time, elated with success, and little anxious of dispelling those terrors, or of gaining the affections of the nation, gave every day more and more rein to his rapacious temper, and employed the arts of perverted law and justice, in order to extort fines and compositions from his subjects. His government was in itself highly oppressive; but it was so much the less burdensome, as he took care, like Lewis XI. to restrain the tyranny of the nobles, and permitted nobody to be guilty of injustice or oppression but himself.

Perkin now finding his correspondence with the nobility cut off by Henry's vigilance and severity, and the king's authority daily gaining ground among the people, resolved to attempt something which might revive the drooping hopes of his party. With this view he gathered together a band of outlaws, pirates, robbers, and necessitous persons of all nations, with whom he put to sea, and appeared off the coast of Kent; but finding the inhabitants determined to oppose him, he returned to Flanders, and afterward made a descent upon Ireland. The affairs of Ireland, however, were now in so good a posture, that he there met with little success;

7. Ibid.

and being tired of the savage life he was obliged to lead, while skulking among the wild natives, he bent his course towards Scotland, and presented himself to James IV. who then reigned in that kingdom. Perkin had been previously recommended to this prince by the king of France; and the insinuating address, and plausible behaviour of the youth himself, seem further to have gained him credit with James, whom years had not yet taught distrust or caution, and who carried his confidence so far, as to give him in marriage the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntley, a young lady eminent both for beauty and virtue.

The jealousy which then subsisted between the courts of England and Scotland was a new recommendation to Perkin; so that James, who had resolved to make an inroad into England, attended by some of his borderers, carried the impostor along with him, in hopes that the appearance of the pretended prince might raise an insurrection in the northern counties. But in this expectation he found himself deceived. Perkin's pretensions were now become stale even in the eyes of the populace: no Englishman of any condition joined him. James, after repeated incursions, attended with various success, therefore, found it necessary to conclude a truce with Henry, Perkin being privately ordered to depart the kingdom[8].

A. D. 1496.

A. D. 1497.

Ireland once more afforded a retreat to the impostor. There he hid himself for some time in the wilds and fastnesses: but impatient of a condition, which was both disagreeable and dangerous, he held a consultation with his followers, Horne, Skelton, and Astley, three broken tradesmen, and by their advice resolved to try the affections of the Cornish malcontents, who had lately risen in rebellion on account of an oppressive tax, and whose mutinous disposition still subsisted, notwithstanding the lenity, that had been shewn them. No sooner therefore did the pretended prince

8. Bacon, *Hist. Hen. VII.* Polyd. Virg.

appear

appear at Bodmin in Cornwall, than the populace to the number of three thousand, flocked to his standard; and Perkin, elated with this appearance of success, took on him for the first time, the appellation of Richard IV. king of England. That the expectations of his followers might not be suffered to languish, he presented himself before Exeter; and by many fair, though fruitless promises, invited that city to join him. The inhabitants shut their gates against him, and he laid siege to the place.

Henry was happy to hear, that the impostor had landed in England, and prepared himself with alacrity to attack him; for as he usually said, he desired only to see his enemies. Perkin, informed of the king's preparations, immediately raised the siege of Exeter; and although his followers now amounted to the number of seven thousand, and seemed still resolute to maintain his cause, he himself despaired of success, and secretly withdrew to the sanctuary of Beaulieu in the New Forest. The Cornish rebels submitted to the king's mercy, and found it was not yet exhausted in their behalf: a few of their chiefs excepted, they were dismissed with impunity. Henry was more at a loss how to proceed with regard to Perkin himself. Some counselled him to make the privileges of the church yield to reasons of state; to drag the impostor from the sanctuary, and inflict on him the punishment due to his temerity. But Henry did not think the evil so dangerous, as to require such a violent remedy. He therefore employed some sagacious persons to persuade Perkin to deliver himself into the king's hands under promise of pardon. He did so; and Henry conducted him, in a kind of mock triumph to London. A. D. 1498.

But although the impostor's life was granted him, he was still detained in custody; and having broke from his keepers, he was afterwards confined in the Tower, where his habits of restless intrigue and enterprize followed him. He found means to open a correspondence with the earl of Warwick,

who was confined in the same prison; and he engaged that
A. D. 1499. unfortunate prince to embrace a project for his escape, which Perkin offered to conduct by murdering the lieutenant of the Tower. The conspiracy did not escape the king's vigilance; and Perkin, by this new attempt, after so many enormities, having rendered himself totally unworthy of mercy, was arraigned, condemned, and hanged at Tyburn. Warwick also was brought to trial, found guilty, and executed [9].

This violent act of tyranny, by which Henry destroyed the last remaining male of the line of Plantagenet, begat great discontent among the people. They saw, with concern, an unhappy prince, who had long been denied the privileges of his birth, and even cut off from the common benefits of nature, now deprived of life itself, merely for attempting to shake off that oppression under which he laboured. But these domestic discontents did not weaken the king's government; and foreign princes, deeming his throne now perfectly secure, paid him rather more deference and attention.

The prince whose alliance Henry valued most was Ferdinand of Spain, whose vigorous and steady policy, always attended with success, had rendered him in many respects the most considerable monarch in Europe. And the king of England had at last the satisfaction of completing a marriage which had been projected and negotiated during the course of seven years, between Arthur prince of Wales and the infanta Catherine, fourth daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella: he near sixteen years of age, she eighteen. But this marriage proved unprosperous. Prince Arthur died a few
A. D. 1502. months after the celebration of the nuptials; and the king, desirous to continue his alliance with Spain, and also unwilling to restore Catherine's dowry, obliged his second son Henry, now prince of Wales, to be betrothed to the infanta. Prince Henry made all the opposition of which a youth only twelve years old could be sup-

9. Ibid.

posed

poſed capable: but as the king perſiſted in his reſolution, the marriage was at laſt concluded between the parties. It was productive of the moſt important conſequences!

Another marriage was alſo celebrated the ſame year, which, in the next age, gave birth to great events: the union of Margaret, Henry's eldeſt daughter, with James IV. of Scotland. When this alliance was deliberated on in the Engliſh council, ſome objected that England might, in conſequence of ſuch marriage, fall under the dominion of Scotland. "No!" replied Henry; "though Scotland ſhould "give an heir to the Engliſh crown, that kingdom will "only become an acceſſion to England[10]:"—and the event has proved the juſtice of the obſervation.

The ſituation of Henry's affairs, both at home and abroad, was now in every reſpect fortunate. All the efforts of the European princes, as we ſhall afterwards have occaſion to ſee, were turned to the ſide of Italy; and the various events which there aroſe made Henry's alliance be eagerly courted by each party, yet intereſted himſelf ſo little as never to touch him with concern or anxiety. Uncontrouled therefore by apprehenſion or oppoſition, he gave full ſcope to his natural propenſity; and avarice, which had ever been his ruling paſſion, being increaſed by age, and encouraged by abſolute authority, broke through all reſtraints of ſhame or juſtice. He had found two miniſters, Empſon and Dudley, perfectly qualified to ſecond his rapacious and tyrannical inclinations, and to prey upon his defenceleſs people. Theſe inſtruments of oppreſſion were both lawyers; the firſt of mean birth, of brutal manners, and of unrelenting temper; the ſecond better born, better educated, and better bred, but equally unjuſt, ſevere, and inflexible. By their knowledge of law, they were qualified to pervert the forms of juſtice to the oppreſſion of the innocent: and Henry ſupported them in all their iniquities. The ſole purpoſe of the king and his mi-

10. Bacon, *Hiſ. Hen VII.*

nisters were to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority.

But while Henry was enriching himself with the spoils of his oppressed people, he did not neglect the political interests of the nation. Philip, archduke of Austria, and his wife Joan, heiress of Castile, being thrown upon the English coast on their passage to Spain, Henry entertained them with a magnificence suitable to his dignity, and at an expence by no means agreeable to his temper. But notwithstanding so much seeming cordiality, interest in this, as in all other things, was the only rule of his conduct. He resolved to draw some advantage from the involuntary visit paid him by his royal guests; and while he seemed only intent on displaying his hospitality, and in furnishing the means of amusement, he concluded a treaty of commerce highly beneficial to England[11].

A.D. 1506.

Henry's views did not terminate here: from the interests of the nation he turned them to his own. Edmund de la Pole, earl of Suffolk, nephew to Edward IV. and brother to the earl of Lincoln, slain at the battle of Stoke, had retired to Flanders in disgust. The king did not neglect the present opportunity of complaining to the archduke of the reception which Suffolk had met with in his dominions. "I really "thought," replied Philip, "that your greatness and feli- "licity had set you far above apprehensions from any person "of so little consequence: but to give you satisfaction, I "shall banish him my state." "I expect that you will "carry your complaisance farther," said Henry: "I desire "to have Suffolk put into my hands, where alone I can de- "pend on his submission and obedience."—"That mea- "sure," observed Philip, "will reflect dishonour upon you, "as well as myself. You will be thought to have used me "as a prisoner."—"Then," replied Henry, "the matter "is settled: I will take upon me that dishonour; and so your

11. Rymer, vol. xiii.

"honour is safe." Philip found himself under the necessity of complying; but he first exacted a promise from Henry, that he would spare Suffolk's life[12].

Henry survived these transactions about two years, but nothing memorable occurs in the remaining part of his reign. His declining health made him turn his thoughts towards that future state of existence, which the severities of his government had rendered a very dismal prospect to him. In order to allay the terrors under which he laboured, he endeavoured to procure a reconciliation with Heaven by distributing alms, and founding religious houses. Remorse even seized him at times for the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, though not to such a degree as to make him stop the rapacious hand of those oppressors, until death, by its nearer approaches, appalled him with new terrors; and then he ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured[13]. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond, in the fifty-second year of his age, and the twenty-third of his reign; which was, on the whole, fortunate for his people at home, and honourable abroad. A. D. 1509.

Henry VII. was a prince of great talents, both civil and military. He put an end to the civil wars with which the English nation had long been harrassed: he maintained the most perfect order in the state: he repressed the exorbitant power of the barons: and he indirectly increased the consequence of the commons, by enabling the nobility to break their ancient entails; as the prodigal were thereby encouraged to dissipate their fortunes and dismember their estates, which became the property of men who had acquired money by trade or industry. And while he possessed the friendship of some foreign princes, he commanded the respect of all. Hence his son Henry VIII. as we shall afterward have occasion to see, became the arbiter of Europe. In the

12. Bacon, ubi sup.

13. Ibid. Hollingshed. Polyd. Virg.

mean

mean time we must take a view of transactions in which England had no share, and which introduced the most important æra in the history of Modern Europe.

LETTER LIII.

A general View of the Continent of EUROPE, *from the Invasion of* ITALY *by* CHARLES VIII. *in* 1494, *till the League of* CAMBRAY, *in* 1508.

I HAVE hitherto, my dear Philip, generally given you a separate history of all the principal European states; because each state depended chiefly on itself, and was in a great measure distinct from every other in its political interests. But that method will, in future, often be impracticable, by reason of the new system of policy which was adopted about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and in consequence of which a union of interests became necessary in order to form a balance of power. This system took its rise from the political state of Europe at that time, and was perfected by the Italian wars, which commenced with the expedition of Charles VIII. in support of his claim to the kingdom of Naples.

A. D. 1494.

This prince having married the heiress of Britanny, as I have already had occasion to observe, and purchased peace from the only powers able to molest him, the emperor of Germany, and the kings of England and Spain, set out on his favourite project, the conquest of Naples. To that kingdom he had pretensions as heir to the house of Anjou.

The army with which Charles undertook this great enterprize did not exceed twenty thousand men; yet with these he was able to over-run all Italy. The Italians, who had utterly lost the use of arms, and who amid continual wars, had become every day more unwarlike, were astonished to

meet

meet an enemy, that made the field of battle not a pompous tournament but a ſcene of blood: they were terrified at the aſpect of real war, and ſhrunk on its approach. The impetuoſity of the French valour appeared to them irreſiſtible. Pope Alexander VI. of infamous memory, the Venetians, and Ludovico Sforza, ſurnamed the Moor, duke of Milan, who had invited Charles into Italy, alarmed at his progreſs, which was equally unwiſhed and unexpected, endeavoured to throw obſtacles in his way almoſt as ſoon as he had croſſed the Alps.

All oppoſition however was in vain. Charles entered in triumph the city of Florence, where the family of Medicis ſtill held the chief authority. He delivered Sienna and Piſa from the Tuſcan yoke: he preſcribed ſuch terms to the Florentines as his circumſtances rendered neceſſary, and their ſituation obliged them to comply with: he marched to Rome, where Alexander VI. had ineffectually intrigued againſt him; and he took poſſeſſion of that city as a conqueror. The pope had taken refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo: but no ſooner did he ſee the Frech cannon pointed againſt its feeble ramparts, than he offered to capitulate; and it coſt him only a cardinal's hat to make his peace with the king. The preſident Briſſonet, who from a lawyer was become an archbiſhop, perſuaded Charles to this accommodation. In reward of his ſervices he obtained the purple[1]. The king's confeſſor was likewiſe in the ſecret; and Charles, whoſe intereſt it was to have depoſed the pope, forgave him, and afterwards repented of his lenity.

No pontiff ſurely ever more deſerved the indignation of a Chriſtian prince. He and the Venetians had applied to the Turkiſh emperor, Bajazet II. ſon and ſucceſſor of Mahomet II. to aſſiſt them in driving the French monarch out of Italy. It is alſo aſſerted, that the pope had ſent one Bozzo in qua-

1. Georgii Flori, *de Bel. Ital.* Phil. de Com. liv. vii. chap. xii.

lity of nuncio to the court of Conſtantinople, and that the alliance between his Holineſs and the Sultan was purchaſed by one of thoſe inhuman crimes, which are not committed without horror, even within the walls of the ſeraglio.

Alexander VI. by an extraordinary chain of events, had at that time in his poſſeſſion the perſon of Zizim, brother to Bajazet II. The manner in which this unfortunate prince fell into the hands of the pope was as follows:

Zizim, who was adored by the Turks, had diſputed the empire with Bajazet, and was defeated. Fortune prevailed over the prayers of the people; and this unhappy ſon of Mahomet II. the terror of the Chriſtian name, had recourſe in his diſtreſs to the knights of Rhodes, now the knights of Malta. They at firſt received him, as a prince to whom they were bound to afford protection by the laws of hoſpitality, and who might one day be of uſe to them in their wars againſt the Infidels; but they ſoon afterward treated him as a priſoner, and Bajazet agreeed to pay them forty thouſand ſequins annually, on condition that they ſhould not ſuffer Zizim to return into Turky. The knights conveyed him to one of their commanderies at Poitou, in France; and Charles VIII. received, at the ſame time, an ambaſſador from Bajazet II. and a nuncio from pope Innocent VIII. Alexander's predeceſſor, relative to this valuable captive. The ſultan claimed him as his ſubject, and the pope wanted to have poſſeſſion of his perſon, as a pledge for the ſafety of Italy againſt the attempts of the Turks. Charles ſent him to the pope. The pontiff received him with all the ſplendour and magnificence which the ſovereign of Rome could ſhew to the brother of the ſovereign of Conſtantinople; and Paul Jovius ſays, that Alexander VI. ſold Zizim's life in a treaty which he negociated with Bajazet. But be that as it may, the king of France, full of his vaſt projects, and certain of the conqueſt of Naples, now wanted to become formidable to the ſultan, by having the perſon of this unfortunate prince

in

in his power. The pope delivered him to Charles, but poisoned, as is supposed. It is at least certain that he died soon after; and the character of Alexander VI. makes it probable, that three hundred thousand ducats, said to have been offered by Bajazet, were esteemed an equivalent for such a crime [2]. A. D. 1495.

Matters being thus settled between the king and the pope, who took an oath not to disturb Charles in his conquests, Alexander was set at liberty, and appeared again as pontiff on the Vatican theatre. There, in a public consistory, the French monarch came to pay him what is called the homage of obedience, assisted by John Gannai, first president of the parliament of Paris, who might certainly have been better employed elsewhere than at such a ceremony. Charles now kissed the feet of the person whom, two days before, he would have condemned as a criminal; and to complete the ludicrous scene, he served his Holiness at high mass [3].

Charlemagne, as we have seen, caused himself to be declared emperor of the West at Rome: Charles VIII. was, in the same city, declared emperor of the East; but after a very different manner. One Paleologus, nephew to the prince of that name, who lost Constantinople and his life, made an empty cession, in favour of Charles and his successors, of an empire which could not be recovered [4].

After this ceremony, Charles continued his progress towards Naples; where Alphonso II. struck with terror at the approach of the French army, gave the world an example of a new kind of cowardice and pusillanimity. He fled privately to Sicily, and took refuge in a cloister; while Ferdinand his son, now become king by his abdication, finding himself unable to retrieve the public affairs, rendered desperate by his father's flight, released his subjects from their oath of allegiance, and retired to the island of Ischia. Charles

2. Phil. de Comin. Paul. Jov. Arnoldi Feroni. Guicciardini. 3. G. Flori. 4. Phil. de Comin.

thus left master of his favourite object, the kingdom of Naples, after having marched thither, from the bottom of the Alps, with as much rapidity, and almost as little opposition, as if he had been on a progress through his own dominions, took quiet possession of the Neapolitan throne, and intimidated, or gave law, to every power in Italy [5].

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of this expedition, which must be considered as the first great exertion of those new powers which the princes of Europe had acquired, and now began to exercise. Its effects were no less considerable than its success had been astonishing. The Italians, unable to resist the force of Charles, permitted him to hold on his course undisturbed. But they quickly perceived, that although no single power, which they could rouse to action, was a match for such an enemy, yet a confederacy might accomplish what its separate members durst not attempt. To this expedient, therefore, they had recourse; the only one that remained, to deliver or preserve them from the French yoke; and while Charles inconsiderately wasted his time at Naples, in festivals and triumphs on account of his past successes, or was fondly dreaming of future conquests in the East, to the empire of which he now aspired, they formed against him a powerful combination of almost all the Italian princes and states; the heads of which were the pope, the Venetians, the duke of Milan, supported by the emperor Maximilian, who had lately succeeded his father Frederic III. and by their Catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella [6].

The union of so many powers, who suspended, or forgot their particular animosities, that they might act with concert against an enemy who had become formidable to them all, awakened Charles from his thoughtless security. He saw now no prospect of safety but in returning to France. The confederates had assembled an army of thirty thousand men,

5. And. de la Vig. *Conq. de la Nap.* Phil. de Comin.
6. Phil. de Comin. Mariana.

in

in order to obſtruct his march. Charles had only nine thouſand men with him. The two armies met in the valley of Fornova; and though the French with a daring courage, which more than made up for their inferiority in numbers, broke the army of the allies, and gained a victory, which opened to their monarch a ſafe paſſage into his own territories, he was ſtripped of all his conqueſts in Italy, in as ſhort a time as he had gained them. The exiled Ferdinand, by the help of Gonſalvo de Cordova, ſurnamed the Great Captain, whom their Catholic majeſties had ſent to his aſſiſtance, ſpeedily recovered the whole kingdom of Naples. He died ſoon after, and left his uncle Frederic in full poſſeſſion of the throne [7]; ſo that the political ſyſtem of Italy reſumed the ſame appearance as before the French invaſion. A. D. 1496.

Charles, after his return to France, gave himſelf up to thoſe paſtimes and pleaſures which had been the bane of his Italian expedition. In the mean time his health decayed, and he died without iſſue in the twenty-eighth year of his age, and the ſeventeenth of his reign; "a "man of ſmall body and ſhort ſtature, ſays Comines, but "ſo good that it is not poſſible to ſee a better creature, and "ſo ſweet and gentle indiſpoſition, that it is not known "that he ever either gave or took offence in his life." He was ſucceeded in the throne of France by the duke of Orleans, under the title of Lewis XII. to which was afterward added the moſt glorious of all appellations, that of *Father of his People.* A. D. 1498.

Lewis was thirty-ſix years of age when he aſcended the throne; and from that moment he forgot all his perſonal reſentments. When ſome of his courtiers put him in mind, that certain perſons who had formerly been his enemies, were now in his power, he made that ever memorable reply: —"The king of France revenges not the injuries of the duke

7. G. Flori. Guicciardini.

"of

"of Orleans." It is one thing, however, to deliver a fine maxim, and another to make it the rule of one's conduct: Lewis did both. But his fatal ambition of reigning in Italy brought many misfortunes upon himself and his kingdom, notwithstanding his prudence and paternal affection for his subjects.

The claim of Lewis XII. to Naples, was the same as that of Charles VIII. and he demanded the duchy of Milan in right of one of his grandmothers, daughter of John Galeazo Visconti, first duke of that territory; who had stipulated, in the marriage-contract of his daughter Valentine, that in case of failure of heirs male in the family of Visconti, the duchy of Milan should descend to the posterity of this Valentine and the duke of Orleans. That event took place. The family of Visconti became extinct in 1447; but the house of Orleans had hitherto been prevented, by various accidents, from making good their claim: and the duchy of Milan was still held by the descendants of Francis Sforza, a soldier of fortune, who having married the natural daughter of the last legal duke, raised himself by his valour and talents to the ducal throne. Lewis now prepared to assert his right with ardour, and he succeeded. But before I relate the particulars of that conquest, it will be necessary to say a few words of pope Alexander VI. and his son Cæsar Borgia, on account of their alliance with the king of France, and the share which they had in the wars of Italy: remarking by the way, that Ludovico Sforza, surnamed the Moor, having murdered his nephew, and taken possession of the duchy of Milan, had been confirmed in it, in 1494, by the investiture of the emperor Maximilian, who married his daughter[8].

Alexander VI. was at that time engaged in two great designs: one was to recover for the Patrimony of St. Peter, the many territories of which it was said to have been deprived; and the other, the exaltation of his son Cæsar Borgia. Infa-

8. Du Mont. *Corp. Diplom.* tom. iii.

mous

mous as his conduct was, it did not in the least impair his authority. He was publicly accused of a criminal correspondence with his own sister, whom he took away from three husbands successively: and he caused the last to be assassinated, that he might bestow her in marriage on the heir of the house of Este. The nuptials were celebrated in the Vatican by the most shameless diversions that debauch had ever invented for the confusion of modesty. Fifty courtezans danced naked before this incestuous family; and prizes were given to those who exhibited the most lascivious motions. The duke of Gandia and Cæsar Borgia, at that time cardinal and archbishop of Valentia in Spain, are said to have publicly disputed the favours of their sister Lucretia. The duke of Gandia was assassinated at Rome, and Cæsar Borgia was the supposed author of the murder[9]. The personal estates of the cardinals, at their decease, belong to the pope: and Alexander VI. was strongly suspected of hastening the death of more than one member of the sacred college, that he might become possessed of their treasures. But, notwithstanding these enormities, the people of Rome obeyed without murmuring, and this pontiff's friendship was courted by all the potentates in Europe.

Lewis XII. had many reasons for desiring the friendship of Alexander. He wanted to be divorced from his wife Joan, the daughter of Lewis XI. who was crooked and ugly, and with whom he had lived in wedlock above twenty-two years, without having any children. No law, but the law of nature, could authorise such a separation; and yet disgust and policy made it necessary. The king disliked his wife, and was desirous of posterity. Anne of Britanny, the queen-dowager, still retained that tenderness which she had felt for him, when duke of Orleans. His passion for her was not yet extinguished; and unless he married her, or at least

9. Paul. Jov. Arnoldi Feroni.

if ſhe married another, Britanny muſt be for ever diſmembered from the French monarchy.

These were powerful motives; but the authority of the holy ſee was neceſſary to give a ſanction to them. It had long been cuſtomary to apply to the pope for permiſſion to marry a relation, or put away a wife: Lewis applied to Alexander VI. who never ſcrupled at any indulgence in which he could find his intereſt. The bull of divorce was iſſued; and Cæſar Borgia was ſent with it into France, with power to negociate with the king on the ſubject of his Italian claims. But this ſon of the church, in a double ſenſe, did not leave Rome till he was aſſured of the duchy of Valentinois, a company of one hundred armed men, and a penſion of twenty-thouſand livres. All theſe Lewis not only agreed to, but alſo promiſed to procure for him the ſiſter of the king of Navarre. The ambitious Borgia, though a cardinal and an archbiſhop, now changed his eccleſiaſtical character for a ſecular one; and pope Alexander granted, at one and the ſame time, a diſpenſation for his ſon to quit the church, and for the king of France to quit his wife[10]. Matters were quickly ſettled between Lewis and the queen-dowager, and the French prepared for a freſh invaſion of Italy.

In this enterprize Lewis had the Venetians on his ſide, who were to have ſhare in the ſpoils of the Milaneſe. The emperor Maximilian, whoſe buſineſs it was to have defended

10. Du Clos. Guicciardini. Some particulars relative to this ſeparation are ſufficiently curious to deſerve notice. Lewis XII. pretended that he had never conſummated his marriage with the princeſs Joan, and the pope admitted his aſſertion as an argument for the divorce. But Joan herſelf, when queſtioned, declared in the moſt ſolemn manner, that the marriage had been conſummated. She even mentioned the time, place, and circumſtances: and on being aſked by the king's proctor, whether ſhe had not ſome natural defects, unuſual in her ſex, ſhe promptly replied, "I know I am neither ſo well made "nor well favoured, as the greater part of my ſex; but I have no imperfec- "tion that renders me unfit for marriage. *Proces du Divorce de Jeanne de France.*

the

the duke of Milan, his father-in-law and vassal, was not at that time in a condition to assist him. He could with difficulty make head against the Swiss, who had entirely freed themselves from the Austrian dominion: He therefore acted, upon this occasion, the feigned part of indifference.

The French monarch terminated amicably some disputes which he had with Philip the Handsome, the emperor's son, and father of Charles V. and this Philip did homage to France for the counties of Flanders and Artois. Lewis likewise renewed the treaty concluded by Charles VIII. with England; and being now secure on all sides, he made his army cross the Alps. A. D. 1499.

This army did not exceed twenty thousand men; yet in the space of twenty days, the French made themselves masters of the duchy of Milan and the republic of Genoa, while the Venetians occupied the territory of Cremona. The king, clad in ducal robes, entered the city of Milan, in triumph; and the duke, Ludovico Sforza, being betrayed soon after, by the Swiss in his pay, was sent prisoner into France, and shut up in the castle of Loches, where he lay unpitied during the remainder of his days[11]. A. D. 1500.

Could Lewis here have set bounds to his ambition, satisfied with the conquest of Milan, he was enabled by his situation to prescribe laws to all the Italian princes and states, and to hold the balance among them. But the desire of recovering the kingdom of Naples engaged him in new projects; and as he foresaw opposition from Ferdinand, the Catholic king, who had formerly expelled the French from that country, and who was connected both by treaties and affinity with Frederic, king of Naples, he endeavoured by offers of interest, to which the interest, to which the ears of that monarch was never deaf, to engage him in an opposite confederacy. A plan was accordingly settled for the expulsion

11. Brantome. Guicciardini.

of Frederic, and the partition of his dominions. Frederic, unable to resist the force of the combined monarchs, each of whom was far his superior in power, resigned his sceptre. But he had the satisfaction to see Naples prove the source of contention among his conquerors. Lewis and Ferdinand, though they had concurred in making the conquest, differed about the division of it. From allies they became enemies; and Gonsalvo de Cordova, partly by the exertion of those military talents which gave him a just title to the appellation of the Great Captain, bestowed upon him by his countrymen, partly by such shameless and frequent violations of the most solemn engagements, as leave an indelible stain upon his memory, stripped the French of all they possessed in the Neapolitan dominions, and secured the entire possession of the disputed kingdom to his no less perfidious master[12].

A. D. 1501.

A. D. 1503.

Meanwhile Alexander VI. subdued the fiefs in Romania by the arms of his son Cæsar Borgia. There is not one act of oppression, subtle artifice, heroic courage, or atrocious villainy, which this son left unpractised. He made use of more art and dexterity to get possession of eight or ten little towns, and to rid himself of a few noblemen, who stood in his way, than Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Gengiz-Kan, or Tamerlane, had employed to subdue the greater part of the habitable globe. Every thing seemed to conspire to his aggrandisement. His father was armed with the spiritual, and he with the temporal power of the church. But his good fortune was of short duration: he laboured, without knowing it, for the Patrimony of St. Peter.

Alexander VI. died in 1503, and left behind him a more detestable memory in Europe than Nero or Caligula had done in the Roman empire; the sanctity of his station adding a double tinge to his guilt. The papacy, however, was in-

12. Paul Jov. Guicciardini. Mezeray.

debted

debted to him for an acceſſion to its temporal dominions. Cæſar Borgia loſt all the fruits of his crimes, and the church profited by them. Moſt of the cities which he had conquered choſe another maſter, on the death of his father: and pope Julius II. obliged him ſoon after to deliver up the reſt.

Abandoned by friends, allies, and relations, Borgia, in a ſhort time, had nothing left of all his wicked greatneſs; and, to complete his miſerable cataſtrophe, he who had betrayed ſo many, was at laſt betrayed. Gonſalvo de Cordova, the Great Captain, with whom he had truſted his perſon, ſent him priſoner into Spain. Lewis XII. took from him the duchy of Valentinois and his penſion. All the world forſook him. Having found means, however, to eſcape from priſon, he ſought refuge in Navarre; and courage, which is not properly a virtue, but a happy qualification, common alike to the wicked and the virtuous, did not deſert him in his diſtreſſes. While in this aſylum, he ſtill maintained every part of his character. He carried on intrigues, and he commanded in perſon the army of the king of Navarre, his father-in-law; during a war which that prince entered into by the perſuaſion of Borgia, to diſpoſſeſs his vaſſals of the Holy See. He was ſlain fighting[13]: "A glorious end!" ſays Voltaire; but it is ſurely only glorious to fall in a good cauſe, and Borgia's was confeſſedly a bad one. We have no occaſion, therefore, to think his fall too favourable. He wrought his own ruin, after having completed his diſgrace; a leſſon more ſtriking than if he had ſuffered by the hands of the public executioner.

Lewis XII. made a new attempt to recover the kingdom of Naples, and was again diſappointed. This ſecond diſappointment was occaſioned by the ambition of his miniſter cardinal d'Amboiſe, who ſold his maſter's intereſt for a promiſe of the papacy; by the policy of

A. D. 1504.

13. Ibid.

Ferdinand, and by the bravery of the Great Captain. Lewis was now sincerely desirous of peace; and, willing to secure the possession of Milan, he engaged, by the treaty of Blois, to pay the emperor Maximilian a large sum for the investiture of that duchy. By this treaty also, the king of France promised his daughter in marriage to Charles of Austria, grandson of Maximilian and Ferdinand, with Britanny, Burgundy, and all his Italian dominions, as her dower, in case he died without heirs male. But this article of the treaty was wisely opposed by the states of France[14]: and the princess Anne was given in marriage to the count of Angoulême, first prince of the blood, and presumptive heir to the crown, afterwards Francis I. Thus Britanny, which had been twice annexed to the French monarchy, and twice near being severed from it, was incorporated with it, and Burgundy also was preserved.

A. D. 1505.

A. D. 1506.

During the course of these transactions Isabella, queen of Castile, died, and Philip of Austria went to take possession of that kingdom, as heir to his mother-in-law. He also died in a short time; and, to the astonishment of all Europe, left the king of France governor to his son Charles.

The balance of power was now happily poised among the principal European states, and might long have maintained general tranquillity, had not the active and enterprising genius of an ambitious pontiff, excited anew the flames of war and discord among them. But the cause of that discord, my dear Philip, and its consequences, must be investigated in a future Letter.

14. Mezeray, tom. iv. Henault, tom. i.

LETTER LIV.

EUROPE, *from the* LEAGUE *of* CAMBRAY *to the Death of* LEWIS XII.

JULIUS II. to whom the popes are particularly indebted for their temporal dominion, had formed the project of driving all foreigners out of Italy. But he was desirous, in the first place, of humbling the Venetians, who had not only declined entering into his views, but had refused to restore the places which they had dismembered from the territory of the church. The league of Cambray was the consequence of their refusal. A. D. 1508.

Let us take a view of that republic, which excited the jealousy of so many princes and states, and cemented this famous confederacy.

Venice, my dear Philip, took its rise, as I have had occasion to notice, during the inroads of the Barbarians, in the fifth century. The little islands of the Adriatic gulf afforded an asylum to the neighbouring inhabitants, who originally lived by fishing, and afterwards grew rich and powerful by commerce. They again got footing on the Terra Firma; and Venice now extended her dominion from the lake of Como to the middle of Dalmatia. The Turks had despoiled her of what she had taken from the Christian emperors in Greece; but she still retained the large island of Candia or Crete, and soon got possession of Cyprus.

The civil constitution of Venice, established on a firm basis, had suffered no considerable alteration for several centuries; and the republic, during the same course of time, had conducted its affairs with an uniform and vigorous spirit of policy, which gave it great advantage over other states, whose views and measures changed as often as the form of their government, or the persons who administered it. But the constitution of this republic had one essential fault; it

wanted a counterpoise to the power of the nobles, and did not offer proper encouragement to the common people. No private citizen of Venice can rise to the rank of a senator, or occupy any considerable employment in the state.

Such a partial aristocracy, which lodges all power in the hands of a few members of the community, is naturally jealous. The Venetian nobles distrusted their own subjects, and were afraid of allowing them the use of arms: the military force of the republic, therefore, consisted wholly of foreign mercenaries. Nor was the command of these ever trusted to noble Venetians, lest they should acquire such influence over the army as might endanger public liberty. A soldier of fortune was placed at the head of the armies of the commonwealth; and to obtain that honour was the great object of the Italian *Condottieri*, or leaders of bands, who made a trade of war, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and hired out troops to different princes and states [1].

A republic that disarmed its subjects, and excluded its nobles from military command, must have carried on warlike enterprizes at great disadvantage; but its commerce was an inexhaustible source of opulence. All the nations in Europe depended upon the Venetians, not only for the precious commodities of the East, which they imported by the way of Egypt, but for various manufactures fabricated by them alone, or finished with a dexterity and elegance unknown in other countries. From this extensive commerce, the state derived such immense supplies, as concealed the vices in its constitution, and enabled it to keep on foot such armies as were an over-match for the force which any of its neighbours could bring into the field. Venice became an object of terror to the Italian states. Her wealth was viewed with envy by the greatest monarchs, who could not vie with her private citizens in the magnificence of their buildings, in the

1. Sandi *Storia Civi. Veneziana.*

richneſs of their dreſs and furniture, or in ſplendor and elegance of living. And Julius II. whoſe ambition and abilities were equal to thoſe of any pontiff who had ever ſat on the papal throne, by working upon the fears of the Italians, and upon the avarice of the princes beyond the Alps, induced them to form againſt this proud republic one of the moſt extenſive confederacies that Europe had ever beheld.

The emperor, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the pope, were principals in the league of Cambray, to which almoſt all the princes of Italy acceded; the leaſt conſiderable of them hoping for ſome ſhare in the ſpoils of a ſtate, which they deemed to be devoted to inevitable deſtruction. The Venetians might have diverted this ſtorm, or have broken its force; but with a preſumptuous raſhneſs, to which there is nothing ſimilar in the courſe of their hiſtory, they waited its approach. The impetuous valour of the French rendered ineffectual all their precautions for the ſafety of the republic; and the battle of Aignadel, fought near the river Adda, entirely ruined the army on which they relied for defence. Julius II. ſeized all the towns which they held in the eccleſiaſtical territories; and Ferdinand re-annexed the places which they had got poſſeſſion of on the coaſt of Calabria, to his Neapolitan dominions. Maximilian, at the head of a powerful army, advanced towards Venice on one ſide; the French puſhed their conqueſts on the other; and the Venetians, ſurrounded by ſo many enemies, and left without one ally, ſunk from the height of preſumption to the depths of deſpair. They abandoned all their territories on the continent, and ſhut themſelves up in their capital, as their laſt refuge, and the only place which they hoped to preſerve [2].

A. D. 1509.

Julius having thus, in the humiliation of the Venetians, attained his firſt object, began to think of the ſecond, more

2. Guicciardini. Mezeray. *Hiſt. de la Ligue faite a Cambray*, par M. l'Abbé du Bos.

worthy of his enterpriſing genius, "the expulſion of every "foreign power out of Italy." For this purpoſe it was neceſſary to diſſolve the League of Cambray, and ſow diſſenſions among thoſe princes whom he had formerly united. He abſolved the Venetians, on their ceding to him the places claimed by the Holy See, from that anathema which had been pronounced againſt them; and he concluded an alliance with the republic againſt thoſe very French whom he had called in to oppreſs it. Their imperiouſneſs had rendered them peculiarly obnoxious to the Italians; and Julius II. who was a native of Genoa, was greatly deſirous of revenging upon Lewis the triumphant oſtentation with which he had puniſhed the revolt of that city, whoſe records he cauſed to be burnt, and whoſe principal citizens he obliged to kneel at the foot of his throne, while he pronounced their ſentence; which, after all, was only to pay a trifling fine. On Lewis, therefore, the haughty pontiff was determined that the tempeſt firſt ſhould fall; and in order to pave the way for this bold project, he at once ſought for a ground of quarrel with that monarch, and courted the alliance of foreign princes. He declared war againſt the duke of Ferrara, the confederate of Lewis; he ſolicited the favour of Henry VIII. who had lately aſcended the throne of England, by ſending him a ſacred roſe, perfumed with muſk, and anointed with chriſm: he detached Ferdinand from the league, and drew him over to his party, by granting him the full inveſtiture of the kingdom of Naples; and, what he chiefly valued, he formed a treaty with the Swiſs, whoſe ſubſidy Lewis had refuſed to augment, and whom he had offended by ſome contumelious expreſſions [3].

A. D. 1510.

The confederacy of Cambray being thus diſſolved, the face of affairs ſoon began to wear a very different appearance in Italy. The Venetians, now recovered from their conſternation, were able to make head againſt the emperor,

3. Id. Ibid. Spelm. *Concil.*

and

and even to regain part of the territory which they had loſt. The pope and his allies made war upon the duke of Ferrara, the ally of France. They were oppoſed by the French troops, and obliged to raiſe the ſiege of Bologna; but they afterwards formed that of Mirandola, where Julius appeared in perſon, viſited the trenches, haſtened the operations, and entered the breach, with all the ardour of a young ſoldier in purſuit of military glory[4].

Lewis, in the mean time, was at a loſs how to act: overawed by his veneration for the vicar of Chriſt, he was afraid to let his generals take thoſe advantages which fortune threw in their way. He was, therefore, deſirous to diveſt Julius of that ſacred character, which chiefly rendered him formidable. With this view, in conjunction with Maximilian, who was himſelf ambitious of the papacy, and by the authority of ſome diſguſted cardinals, he ſummoned a general council at Piſa, in order to reform the church, and check the exorbitancies of the ſovereign pontiff. But Lewis was as irreſolute in ſupporting the council, as in inſtructing his generals. Julius ſaw his timidity, and availed himſelf of it. He ſummoned a council at the Lateran: he put Piſa under an interdict, and all the places that ſhould give ſhelter to the ſchiſmatical council; he excommunicated the cardinals and prelates who attended it; he even pointed his ſpiritual thunder againſt the princes who adhered to it: he freed their ſubjects from all oaths of allegiance, and gave their dominions to every one who could take poſſeſſion of them[5].

A. D. 1511.

Ambition lays hold of the ſlighteſt pretences to accompliſh its deſigns. The crafty Ferdinand, who had obtained the ſurname of Catholic, but who regarded the cauſe of the pope and of religion ſolely as a cover to his ſelfiſh politics, made this anathema of Julius a pretext for robbing the king of Navarre of his dominions, as an ally of France, and conſe-

4. Guicciardini. 5. Spelm. *Concil.*

quently included in the bull fulminated against the adherents of the council of Pisa. The method which he took to effect this conquest, was no less singular than the measure. Henry VIII. his son-in-law, naturally sincere and sanguine in temper, was moved with a hearty desire of protecting the pope from that oppression, to which he believed him exposed from the French monarch. Impatient also of acquiring that distinction in Europe, to which his power and opulence entitled him, he could not long remain neuter amid the noise of arms: he was, therefore, led to join that alliance, which the pope, Spain, and Venice, had formed against Lewis. Ferdinand saw his intemperate ardour, and made him the instrument of his own base ambition.

This artful prince, who considered his close connexion with Henry only as the means of taking advantage of his inexperience, advised him not to invade France by the way of Calais, where he himself should not have it in his power to assist him: he exhorted him rather to send forces to Fontarabia, whence he could easily make a conquest of Guienne, a province in which it was imagined the English had still some adherents. He promised to forward this conquest by the junction of a Spanish army: and so zealous did he seem to promote the interests of his son in-law, that he even sent vessels to England, in order to transport the forces which Henry had levied for that purpose. But the marquis of Dorset, who commanded the English army, was no sooner landed in Guipuscoa, than Ferdinand suggested the necessity of first subduing the kingdom of Navarre, which lies on the frontiers between France and Spain.

Dorset, however having no orders to make war any where but in France, refused to take any part in that enterprize: he therefore remained in his quarters at Fontarabia. But so subtle was the contrivance of Ferdinand, that the English army, even while it lay in that situation, was almost equally serviceable to his purpose, as if it had acted in conjunction with his own. It kept the French army in awe, and prevented

vented it from advancing to succour the kingdom of Navarre; so that the duke of Alva, the Spanish general, having full leisure to conduct his operations, after subduing the smaller towns, made himself master of Pampeluna, the capital, and obliged John d'Albert the sovereign to seek refuge in France. Dorset was obliged to return to England, with his army much diminished by want and sickness, without being able to effect any thing for the interests of his master; and Henry, enraged at his ill success, was with difficulty made sensible of the fraudulent conduct of Ferdinand, his deceitful father-in-law [6]. D. 1512.

While these things were transacting on the other side of the Pyrenees, events of still greater moment happened beyond the Alps. Though the war which England waged against France, brought no advantage to the former kingdom, it was of much prejudice to the latter; and by obliging Lewis to withdraw his forces from Italy, lost him the superiority which his arms, in the beginning of the campaign, had acquired in that country. Gaston de Foix, his nephew, had been entrusted with the command of the French forces; and, at the age of twenty-three, exhibited, in a few months, such feats of military skill and valour as were sufficient to render illustrious the life of the oldest general. His career terminated with the famous battle of Ravenna; which, after the most obstinate dispute, he gained over the Spanish and papal armies. He perished the moment his victory was complete, and with him perished the fortune of the French arms in Italy. The Swiss, who had now rendered themselves formidable by their bands of disciplined infantry, invaded the duchy of Milan with a numerous army, and excited its inconstant inhabitants to a revolt against the dominion of France. Genoa followed the example of that duchy; and Lewis, in the course of a few weeks, totally lost his Italian conquests. Maximilian Sforza, the son April 11.

6. Herbert. *Hist. Hen. VIII.* Polyd. Virg.

of

of Ludovico, was again reinstated in the possession of Milan, and the Genoese recovered their liberty [7].

The expulsion of the French gave much pleasure to the pope; more especially as he owed it to the Swiss, whom he had honoured with thetitle of *Defender of the Holy See*, and whose councils he hoped always to govern. Julius II. however, enjoyed this satisfaction but a short time.
A. D. 1513.
He died suddenly, at an advanced age, and was succeeded in the pontificate by John of Medicis, son of the celebrated Laurence, who had governed Florence with so much reputation, and obtained the appellation of *Father of the Muses*. John took the name of Leo X. and proved one of the most illustrious pontiffs that ever sat on the papal throne. Humane, generous, affable, the patron of every art, and the friend of every virtue, he had a soul no less capable of forming great designs than his predecessor; but he was more delicate in employing means for the execution of them. By the negociations of Leo, who adhered to the political system of Julius, the emperor Maximilian was detached from the French interest; and Henry VIII. notwithstanding his disappointments in the former campaign, was still encouraged to prosecute his warlike measures against Lewis [8].

In order to prevent disturbance from Scotland, while the English arms should be employed on the continent, Henry dispatched an ambassador to James IV. his brother-in-law, with instructions to accommodate all differences between the two kingdoms. Some complaints had already been made on both sides; but matters might easily have been settled, had it not been for Henry's projected invasion of France, which roused the jealousy of the Scottish nation. The ancient league which subsisted between France and Scotland was esteemed the most sacred bond of connection, and universally believed by the Scots, essential to the preservation of their independency against a people so much superior as the English.

7. Guicciardini.

8. Father Paul. Guicciardini. Herbert.

Henry's

Henry's ambaſſador therefore eaſily foreſaw, though James ſtill made profeſſions of maintaining a neutrality, that a war with Scotland would in the end prove inevitable; and he gave warning of the danger to his maſter, who ſent the earl of Surry to put the borders in a poſture of defence, and to reſiſt the expected inroad of the enemy [9].

Meanwhile the king of England, all on fire for military fame, invaded France by the way of Calais. But of all the allies, on whoſe aſſiſtance he relied, the Swiſs alone fully performed their engagements. Maximilian, among others, failed to perform his; although he had received, in advance, a ſubſidy of an hundred and twenty thouſand crowns. That he might make ſome atonement, however, for his breach of faith, he appeared in perſon in the Low Countries, and joined the Engliſh army with a ſmall body of German and Flemiſh troops, that were uſeful in giving an example of diſcipline to Henry's new levied forces. The emperor carried his condeſcenſion yet farther. He did not pretend, with a handful of men, to act as an auxiliary, but enliſted himſelf in the ſervice of the Engliſh monarch; wore the croſs of St. George, and received a hundred ducats a day for the uſe of his table [10].

An emperor of Germany, ſerving under a king of England, and living by his bounty, was ſurely a ſpectacle truly extraordinary; but Henry treated him with the higheſt reſpect, and he really directed all the operations of the war. The firſt enterprize which they undertook was the ſiege of Terouane, a town ſituated on the borders of Picardy. During the attack of this place was fought the famous battle of Guinegate, where the cavalry of France fled at the firſt onſet, and in which the duke of Longueville, Buſſi d'Amboiſe, Clermont, Imbercourt, the chevalier Bayard, and many other officers of diſtinction, were made priſoners. This action, or rather rout, is commonly called the *Battle of Spurs*; becauſe

9. Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert. 10. Polydore Virg.

the French, on that occasion, made more use of their spurs than their military weapons [11].

After so considerable an advantage, Henry, who was at the head of a complete army of fifty thousand men, might have made incursions to the gates of Paris, and spread confusion and desolation every where. It therefore gave Lewis great joy, when he heard that the king of England, instead of pushing his victory, had returned to the siege of Terouane. That place, however, was soon obliged to capitulate, and the anxieties of the French were again renewed with regard to the motions of the English. The Swiss at the same time had entered Burgundy with a formidable army; and the Catholic king, though he had made a truce with Lewis, seemed disposed to seize every advantage which fortune should present to him. Never was the French monarchy in greater danger, or less in a condition to defend itself against those powerful armies which assailed or threatened it on every side.

Lewis, though fruitful in expedients, was now at a loss what course to follow, or where to place his safety: his troops were dismayed, his people intimidated, and he had no ally to assist him. But France was saved by the blunders of her enemies. The Swiss allowed themselves to be wheedled into a negociation by Tremouille, governor of Burgundy, without enquiring whether he had any powers to treat; and that nobleman, who knew he should be disavowed by his master, stipulated whatever they were pleased to demand, happy to get rid of such dangerous invaders at the expence of a little money and many empty promises. Henry discovered no less ignorance in the conduct of war than the Swiss in negociation. By the interested counsel of Maximilian, he laid siege to Tournay, which then belonged to France, and afforded the troops of that kingdom a passage into the heart of the Netherlands. Soon after the reduction

11. *Hist. de Chev. Bayard. Mem. de Bellai.*

of

of this place, which nowiſe advanced the conqueſts of Henry, he was informed of the retreat of the Swiſs; and as the ſeaſon was now far advanced, he thought proper to return to England, and carried with him the greater part of his army [12]. Such, my dear Philip, was the iſſue of a campaign much boaſted of by the Engliſh monarch; but which, all circumſtances conſidered, was unprofitable, if not inglorious.

The ſucceſs which, during this ſeaſon, attended the Engliſh arms in North Britain was more deciſive. James IV. had aſſembled the whole force of his dominions, and croſſed the Tweed at the head of a brave though tumultuous army of fifty thouſand men. But inſtead of making uſe of the opportunity, which the abſence of Henry afforded him, to puſh his conqueſts, he waſted his time in the arms of a fair captive. His troops became diſſatisfied, and began to be pinched with hunger; and as the authority of the prince was yet feeble among the Scots, and military diſcipline extremely lax, many of them ſtole from the camp, and retired homewards. Meanwhile the earl of Surry, having collected a body of twenty-ſix thouſand men, approached the enemy, who lay on ſome high grounds near the hills of Cheviot. He drew them from their ſtation, by feigning to enter their country; and an obſtinate battle was fought in the field of Flouden, where the king of Scotland and the flower of his nobility were ſlain [13].—Henry, on this occaſion, diſcovered a mind truly great and generous. Though an inviting opportunity was now offered him of extending his dominion over the whole iſland, he took compaſſion on the helpleſs condition of his ſiſter Margaret, and her infant ſon; and readily granted peace to Scotland, as ſoon as it was applied for.

Sept. 9.

A. D. 1514.

Soon after this peace, which put Henry in a condition to proſecute his views on the continent to more advantage, as he

12. *Mem de Fleuranges.* Guicciardini.

13. Buchanan. Drummond. Herbert.

he had nothing to fear from his northern neighbours, a general pacification took place between the contending powers: Lewis renounced the council of Pisa, now transferred to Lyons, and Leo X. granted him absolution. Ferdinand the Catholic renewed the truce with France; and he and Maximilian entered into a treaty with Lewis for the marriage of his second daughter, Renée, to Charles, prince of Spain, their common grandson. Lewis himself espoused the princess Mary of England, and agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, the arrears due by the treaty of Estaples. These two monarchs also entered into an alliance for their mutual defence [14].

Lewis XII. thus rescued from his numerous difficulties, had the happiness of beholding once more his affairs in good order, and all Europe in tranquillity. But he enjoyed this happiness only a short while. Enchanted with the beauty and elegant accomplishments of his young queen, he forgot in her arms his advanced age, and was seduced into such a round of gaiety and pleasure as proved very unsuitable to his declining health [15]. He died about three months after the marriage, in his fifty-fourth year, and when he was meditating anew the conquest of Milan—which was left to immortalize the name, and swell the misfortunes of his successor.

A. D. 1515.

There is no perfection in human beings, my dear Philip, and consequently not in kings, whatever their flatterers may tell them; but few men, either princes or subjects, seem to have possessed more social and benevolent virtues than fell to the share of Lewis XII. He was universally beloved by his

14. Du Tillet.

15. Brantome, *Eloge de Louis XII.* "The good king," says another writer, "for the sake of his wife, totally altered his manner of living. "Whereas *before* he used to *dine* at *eight o'clock* in the *morning*, he *now* did not *dine* "till *noon*. He had also been *accustomed* to *go* to *bed* at *six* in the *evening*, and "he *now* frequently *sat up* till *midnight*." (*Hist de Chev. Bayard.*) Nothing can mark more strongly than this passage the difference between the mode of living in that and the present age!

people

people: the populace and the noblity equally adored him, and unanimously called him their Father; a title with which he was particularly pleased, and which he made it the study of his life to deserve. He began his reign with abolishing many taxes; and at the time of his death, notwithstanding his wars and his disasters, he had diminished the public burdens above one half. His very misfortunes, or, in a political sense, his errors, endeared him to his subjects; for it was well known, that he might have maintained his conquests in Italy, if he would have levied larger sums upon his people. But his heart would not permit him to distress them: he esteemed any loss light, compared with that of their affections. His moderation was no less remarkable than his humanity. When told that some of his courtiers smiled at his œconomy, which they considered as too rigid, and that certain authors had taken the liberty to ridicule it in their writings, he was by no means displeased. "I would rather," replied he magnanimously, "that my people should laugh at "my parsimony, than weep at their own oppressions [16]."

16. *Hist. de Louis XII.* pub. par Theod. Godefroy.

LETTER LV.

The general View of EUROPE *continued, from the Accession of* FRANCIS I. *in* 1515, *to the Death of the Emperor* MAXIMILIAN, *in* 1519; *including the Rise of the* REFORMATION *in* GERMANY.

LEWIS XII. was succeeded on the throne of France by his son-in-law Francis, count of Angoulême, first prince of the blood, whose military genius, it was foreseen, would soon disturb the peace of Europe. Young, brave, ambitious, and enterprizing, he immediately turned his eyes towards Italy, as the scene of glory and of conquest. His first object was the recovery of Milan. But before

A. D. 1515.

before he ſat out on that expedition, he renewed the treaty which his predeceſſor had concluded with England; and having nothing to fear from Spain, where Ferdinand was on the verge of the grave, he marched his army towards the Alps, under pretence of defending his kingdom againſt the incurſions of the Swiſs. Informed of his hoſtile intentions, that warlike people had taken up arms, at the inſtigation of the pope, in order to protect Maximilian Sforza, duke of Milan, whom they had reſtored to his dominions, and thought themſelves bound in honour to ſupport.

These hardy mountaineers took poſſeſſion of all thoſe paſſes in the Alps, through which they thought the French muſt enter Italy; and when informed that Francis had made his way into Piedmont, by a ſecret route, they deſcended undiſmayed into the plain, and gallantly oppoſed themſelves on foot to the heavy-armed cavalry of France. The two armies met at Marignan, near Milan; where

Sept. 13.

was fought one of the moſt furious and obſtinate battles mentioned in the hiſtory of modern times. The action began towards evening: night parted the combatants; but next morning the Swiſs renewed the attack with unabated ardour, and it required all the heroic valour of Francis to inſpire his troops with courage ſufficient to reſiſt the ſhock. The Swiſs, though broken at laſt by the cavalry, and galled by the cannon, long kept their ground; and did not retire till they had loſt upwards of twelve thouſand of their beſt troops, about one half of their whole number. The loſs of the French was very conſiderable; twenty thouſand men fell on both ſides; and the old marſhal Trivulzio, who had been preſent at eighteen pitched battles, uſed to declare, that in compariſon of the battle of Marignan, every other engagement he had ſeen was but *the play of children*, but that this was *a combat of heroes*[1].

The ſurrender of the city of Milan, and the conqueſt of

1. *Mem de Fleurages.*

the whole duchy, were the consequences of this victory. Maximilian Sforza resigned his claim, in consideration of a pension; and Francis having concluded a treaty with the pope, and with the Swiss, returned into France, leaving to Charles duke of Bourbon the government of his Italian dominions [2].

In the mean time the success and glory of the French monarch began to excite jealousy in the breast of the old emperor Maximilian: nor was the rapid progress of Francis, though in so distant a country, regarded with indifference even by the king of England. Henry dispatched a minister to the court of Vienna, with secret orders to propose certain payments to the emperor: and Maximilian, who was ever ready to embrace any overture to excite fresh troubles, and always necessitous, immediately invaded Italy with a considerable army. But that prince being repulsed before Milan, by the French garrison, and hearing that twelve thousand Swiss were advancing to its relief, retired hastily into Germany; made peace with France and with Venice, ceded Verona to that republic for a sum of money, and thus excluded himself in some measure, from all future access into Italy [3].

A. D. 1516.

This peace, which restored universal tranquillity to Europe, was preceded by the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the succession of his grandson Charles to his extensive dominions; an event which had long been looked for, and from which the most important consequences were expected. Charles, who had hitherto resided in the Low Countries, which he inherited as heir of the house of Burgundy, was now near the full age of sixteen, and possessed a recollection and sedateness much above his years; but his genius had yet given no indications of that superiority, which its maturer state displayed. That capacious and decisive judgment, which afterwards directed so ably the affairs of a vast em-

2. Guicciardini. Mezeray. 3. Ibid.

 pire,

pire, was left to be discovered by those great events to which it gave birth, and those occasions which made it necessary. At present there was little call for it.

Cardinal Ximenes, archbishop of Toledo, a person of equal virtue and sagacity, had prudently been appointed, by the will of Ferdinand, sole regent of Castile, till the arrival of his grandson. This man, whose character is no less singular than illustrious, who united the abilities of a great statesman with the abject devotion of a superstitious monk, and the magnificence of a prime minister with the austerity of a mendicant, maintained order and tranquillity in Spain, notwithstanding the discontents of a turbulent and high-spirited nobility. When they disputed his right to the regency, he coolly shewed them the testament of Ferdinand, and the ratification of that deed by Charles; but these not satisfying them, and arguments proving ineffectual, he led them insensibly towards a balcony, whence they had a view of a large body of troops under arms and a formidable train of artillery. "Behold," said the cardinal, raising his voice, and extending his arm, "the powers which I have received "from his Catholic Majesty: by these I govern Castile! "and will govern it, till the king, your master and mine, "shall come to take possession of his kingdom."

A. D. 1517. A declaration so bold and determined silenced all opposition, and Ximenes maintained his authority till the arrival of Charles [4].

The fate of this minister merits our attention, though not immediately connected with the line of general history. The young king was received with universal acclamations of joy; but Ximenes found little cause to rejoice. He was seized with a violent disorder, supposed to be the effect of poison; and when he recovered, Charles, prejudiced against him by the Spanish grandees and his Flemish courtiers, slighted his advice, and allowed him every day to sink into neg-

4. Flechier, *Vie de Ximen.*

lect. The cardinal did not bear this treatment with his usual firmness of spirit. He expected a more grateful return from a prince, to whom he delivered a kingdom far more flourishing than it had been in any former age, and authority more extensive and better established than the most illustrious of his ancestors had ever possessed. Conscious of his own integrity and merit, he could not therefore refrain from giving vent, at times, to indignation and complaint. He lamented the fate of his country, and foretold the calamities to which it would be exposed from the insolence, the rapaciousness, and the ignorance of strangers. These persons agitated the soul of Ximenes, when he received a letter from the king, genteelly dismissing him from his councils, under pretence of easing his age of that burden, which he had so long and so ably sustained. This letter proved fatal to the minister. His haughty mind could not endure disgrace, nor his generous heart the stings of ingratitude: he expired a few hours after reading it [5].

While Charles was taking possession of the throne of Spain, in consequence of the death of one grandfather, another was endeavouring to obtain for him the imperial crown. With this view Maximilian assembled a diet at Augsburg, where he strove to gain the favour of the electors by many acts of beneficence, in order to engage them to chuse that young prince as his successor. But Maximilian himself having never been crowned by the pope, a ceremony deemed essential in that age, as well as the preceding, he was considered only as king of the Romans, or emperor *elect*; and no example occurring in history of any person being chosen successor to a king of the Romans, the Germans, ever tenacious of their forms, obstinately refused to confer upon Charles a dignity for which their constitution knew no name [6].

A. D. 1518.

5. Marsallier, *Vie de Ximen.* Baudier, *Hist. de Ximen.*
6. Barre, tom. vi.

But the diet of Augſburg had other buſineſs. Thither was ſummoned Martin Luther, for "propagating new and "dangerous opinions." Theſe opinions were no other, my dear Philip, than the firſt principles of the Reformation; which ſoon diffuſed themſelves through Germany, which were afterwards embraced by ſo many nations, and which ſeparated one half of Europe from the Romiſh church. Of the origin of this great ſchiſm ſome account will be neceſſary; for although I would by no means engage you in theological diſputes, you ought to know the grounds of a controverſy, which produced ſo remarkable a revolution in the religious world, in the creeds and ceremonies of Chriſtians, that you may be the better enabled to judge of its effects upon ſociety; upon induſtry, literature, policy, and morals. In that light only I mean to conſider it: the road to heaven I leave to heavenly directors.

In the courſe of theſe Letters I have had occaſion to obſerve the riſe of the pope's ſpiritual power, as well as of his temporal dominion; to trace the progreſs, and to remark the abuſes of each. A repetition here would therefore be unneceſſary. The ſpiritual deſpotiſm of Gregory VII. the temporal tyranny of Alexander VI. and the bloody ambition of Julius II. make too ſtrong an impreſſion on the mind to be ſoon effaced. After that enormous privilege which the Roman pontiffs aſſumed of diſpoſing of crowns, and of releaſing nations from their oath of allegiance, the moſt pernicious to ſociety was that of abſolving individuals from the ties of moral duty. This dangerous power, or one equivalent to it, the pope claimed as the ſucceſſor of St. Peter, and the keeper of the ſpiritual treaſury of the church, ſuppoſed to contain the ſuper-abounding good works of the ſaints, together with the infinite merits of Jeſus Chriſt. Out of this inexhauſtible ſtorehouſe of ſuperabundant merit, his holineſs might retail, at pleaſure, particular portions to thoſe who were deficient. He aſſumed, in ſhort, and directly exerciſed, the right of pardoning ſins; which was, in other

words,

words, granting a permission to commit them; for if it is known, as had long been the case in the Romish church, at what price the punishment of any crime may be bought off, the encouragement to vice is the same as if a dispensation had been granted before hand. And even that was frequently indulged.

The influence of such indulgences upon morals, may easily be imagined; especially in ages when superstition had silenced the voice of conscience, and reason was bewildered in Gothic darkness; when the church had every where provided sanctuaries, which not only screened from the arm of the civil magistrate persons guilty of the greatest enormities, but often enabled them to live in affluence. Yet that great historian, and profound philosopher, Mr. Hume, has endeavoured to prove, that protestant writers are mistaken in supposing that a dissolution of morals should ensue, "because "a man could purchase for a shilling, an *indulgence* for the "most enormous and unheard-of crimes[7]!" But you, I hope, will think otherwise, when you have duly weighed the foregoing considerations.

Mr. Hume seems here to have forgot, that all men are not philosophers: or blinded by the love of paradox, to have lost sight of common sense. He seems even to have lost sight of his argument; for he adds, that "after these "indulgences, there still remained hell-fire, the civil magi-"strate, and the remorses of conscience," to awe mankind to their duty. Now the first of these assertions is literally false; for the very words of an indulgence bore, that it restored the person to whom it was granted, "to that inno-"cence and purity which he possessed at baptism:" and, according to the doctrine of the Romish church, the infant is then fit for heaven. But the indulgence did not stop here: it concluded thus; "so that when you die, the gates of pu-"nishment shall be shut, and the gates of the paradise of

7. *Hist. of England*, vol. iv. note A.

"delight ſhall be opened[8]." The terror of the civil magiſtrate, as I have already ſhewn, could be very ſmall, when the church afforded ſhelter to every criminal that ſought her ſanctuaries, and took into her boſom the whole body of the clergy. Conſcience, indeed, ſo often repreſented by this doubting ſage as an erring guide, as a principle ſuperinduced, and local, conſcience could not be baniſhed the human breaſt; but its voice, if not entirely ſilenced by ſuperſtition, was too feeble to be liſtened to by the ſelf-deluding and headſtrong paſſions of man, when flattered by the hope, or encouraged by the aſſurance of a papal indulgence.

Theſe indulgencies, or plenary pardons, of which I have been led inſenſibly to ſpeak, and which not only ſerved as a remiſſion of ſins to the living, but as a releaſe to the dead from the pains of purgatory, were firſt invented by Urban II. as a recompence for thoſe who engaged in the wild expeditions to the Holy Land. They were afterwards granted to ſuch as contributed money for that or any other pious purpoſe: and the ſums ſo raiſed were frequently diverted to other uſes. They were employed to ſwell the ſtate, to furniſh the luxuries, or accompliſh the ambitious enterprizes of the popes. John XXII. reduced this ſpiritual traffic into a ſyſtem: and Leo X. that great patron of arts and of letters, having exhauſted the papal treaſury in rewards to men of genius, in magnificent works, and expenſive pleaſures, thought that he might attempt, without danger, thoſe pious frauds ſo ſucceſsfully practiſed by the moſt ignorant of his predeceſſors: Leo publiſhed a general ſale of *Indulgences.*

If any thing could apologize for a religious cheat that tends to the ſubverſion of morals, Leo's apology was ready. He was engaged in building that ſuperb temple, St. Peter's cathedral, founded by his predeceſſor, and the Turks were preparing to enter Germany. He had no occaſion to forge pretences for this extenſion of papal authority. But Leo,

8. Seckend. *Comment.* lib. i. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book ii.

though

though a polite ſcholar, and a fine gentleman, was but a pitiful pope. Liberal minded himſelf, and ſurrounded by liberal minded men, he did not foreſee, that the lamp of knowledge, which he held up to mankind, would light them to the abode of Superſtition; would ſhew them her errors, her impoſtures, her uſurpations, and their own ſlaviſh condition. He did not reflect, that impoſitions employed with ſucceſs in one age, may prove dangerous experiments in another. But he had ſoon occaſion to remember it.

The abuſe of the ſale of indulgences in Germany, where they were publicly retailed in alehouſes, and where the produce of particular diſtricts was farmed out, in the manner of a toll or cuſtom, awakened the indignation of Martin Luther, an Auguſtine friar, and profeſſor of theology in the univerſity of Wittemberg. Luther was alſo incenſed, it is ſaid, that the privilege of vending this ſpiritual merchandiſe had been taken from his order, and given to the Dominicans. But, be that as it may, he wrote and he preached againſt indulgences. His writings were read with avidity, and his diſcourſes were liſtened to with admiration. He appealed to reaſon and ſcripture, for the truth of his arguments, not to the deciſions of councils, or of popes. A corner of the veil was now happily lifted. The people, ever fond of judging for themſelves (and in matters which concern themſelves only, they have an undoubted right,) flattered by this appeal, began to call in queſtion that authority which they had formerly reverenced, which they had blindly adored; and Luther, emboldened by ſucceſs, extended his views, and ventured to declaim againſt other abuſes. From abuſes he proceeded to uſurpations; from uſurpations to errors; and from one error to another, till the whole fabric of the Romiſh church began to totter.

Leo, in the mean time, alarmed at the progreſs of this daring innovator, had ſummoned him to anſwer for his doctrines at Rome. But that citation was remitted at the interceſſion of Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe, elector of Saxony,

who had hitherto protected Luther; and his cause was ordered to be tried in Germany, by cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, eminent for scholastic learning, and the pope's legate at the imperial court. For this end, among others, Cajetan attended the diet at Augsburg; and thither Luther repaired without hesitation, after having obtained the emperor's safe-conduct, though he had good reason to decline a judge chosen from among his avowed adversaries. The cardinal received him with decent respect, and endeavoured, at first, to gain him by gentle treatment; but finding him firm in his principles, and thinking it beneath the dignity of his station to enter into any formal dispute, he required him by virtue of the apostolic powers with which he was vested, to retract his errors, (without shewing that they were such) and to abstain, for the future, from the publication of new and dangerous opinions. Luther, who had flattered himself with a hearing, and hoped to distinguish himself in a dispute with a prelate of such eminent abilities, was much mortified at this arbitrary mode of proceeding. His native intrepidity of mind, however, did not forsake him: he boldly replied, that he could not, with a safe conscience, renounce opinions which he believed to be true; but offered to submit the whole controversy to the judgment of the learned, naming certain universities. This offer was rejected by Cajetan, who still insisted on a simple recantation; and Luther, by the advice of his friends, after appealing to a general council, secretly withdrew from Augsburg, and returned to his own country[9]. The progress of this extraordinary man, and of that reformation to which he gave birth, I shall afterwards have occasion to trace.

The diet of Augsburg was soon followed by the death of the emperor Maximilian; an event in itself of little moment, as that prince had, for some years, ceased to be of any consequence. But as it left vacant the

A. D. 1519.

9. Sleid. *Hist. Reform.* Robertson, ubi sup.

first

first station among Christian princes, of which two great monarchs were equally ambitious, it became memorable by its effects. It gave rise to a competition, and awakened a jealousy, which threw all Europe into agitation: it broke that profound peace which then reigned in Christendom, and kindled wars more general and lasting than any which modern times had beheld.—But before we enter on that interesting æra, I must carry forward the Progress of Society; notice the improvements in arts and in letters, and exhibit some account of those great naval discoveries, which produced so important a revolution in the commercial world, and gave to Europe a new continent, while religion and ambition were depopulating the old. Meanwhile it will be proper to remark, That, during the reign of Maximilian, Germany was divided into Circles, in each of which a provincial and particular jurisdiction was established to supply the place of a public and common tribunal. In this reign also was instituted the Imperial Chamber, composed of Judges nominated partly by the emperor, partly by the several states, and vested with authority to decide finally concerning all differences among the members of the Germanic body. The Aulic Council too, which takes cognizance of all feudal cases, and such as belong to the emperor's immediate jurisdiction, received under this prince a new form [10]. By these regulations, order was given to that confused government, and some degree of vigour restored to the imperial authority.

10. Datt. *De Pace Publica Imperii.*

LETTER LVI.

Progress of SOCIETY *in* EUROPE, *from the Beginning of the Fourteenth, to the Middle of the Sixteenth Century, with a retrospective View of the Revival of* LETTERS.

WE have already, my dear Philip, traced the Progress of Society to the beginning of the fourteenth century. We have seen corporation-charters granted; civil communities formed; and the great body of the people, released from that servitude under which they had so long groaned, applying themselves to trade and industry. We have also seen universities generally established; the study of the Roman law introducing a more perfect system of jurisprudence; an acquaintance with the learned languages awakening an ambition of literary merit; manners taking a more liberal turn, and commerce beginning to circulate the conveniences of life. But Society had still many advances to make, before it arrived at that state of refinement, in which we now behold it, or to which it had attained under the pontificate of Leo X.

These advances it is now our business to trace. By the way, however, I must remind you, That, in the course of the general narrative, I have taken occasion to notice the Progress of Society with respect to the command of national force; the vigour which government acquired, by the increase of the royal authority; the alterations which took place in the art of war, in consequence of the invention of gunpowder; the establishment of standing armies, and the supplies necessary for the support of such a body of men. I have also had occasion to mention the new system adopted by princes, for national defence and safety, by maintaining a balance of political power, and the means by which that system was perfected. I shall, therefore, devote this letter solely to such objects as cannot come within the line of ge-

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neral history; the progreſs of manners, of arts, and of polite literature. The ſciences, as ſince cultivated, were not yet known. True philoſophy belongs to a more modern æra.

Mankind are no ſooner in poſſeſſion of the conveniences of life, than they begin to aſpire after its elegancies. About the beginning of the fourteenth century, ſuch a taſte became general in Europe. The Italian cities, which had early acquired liberty, and obtained municipal charters, carried on, at that time, a flouriſhing trade with India, through the ports of the Red Sea. They introduced into their own country manufactures of various kinds, and carried them on with great ingenuity and vigour. In the manufacture of ſilk in particular, they made ſo rapid a progreſs, that, about the middle of the fourteenth century, a thouſand citizens of Genoa appeared in one proceſſion, clad in ſilk robes. They attempted new arts; among which may be numbered, the art of taking impreſſions from engravings on plates of copper, the manufacture of cryſtal glaſs for mirrors, of paper made of linen rags, and of earthen ware in imitation of porcelain. And they imported from warmer climates the art of raiſing ſeveral natural productions, formerly unknown in Europe, which now furniſh the materials of a lucrative and extended commerce; particularly the culture of ſilk, and the plantation of the ſugar-cane. Originally the produce of Aſia, and eſteemed peculiar to the Eaſt, the ſugar-cane was tranſplanted from the Greek iſlands in Sicily, from Sicily into Italy, from Italy into Spain, and from Spain and Portugal into the newly diſcovered iſlands in the Weſtern Ocean[1].

The diſcovery of thoſe iſlands, and alſo of the American continent, was the effect of another modern invention, namely the Mariner's Compaſs; which, by rendering navigation at once more ſecure and more adventurous, facilitated

1. Guicciardini, *Deſcrit. Paeſi Baſſe.*

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the intercourse between remote nations, and may be said to have brought them nearer to each other.

But the progress of navigation, and the discoveries to which it gave birth, demand a particular Letter. Yet here I must observe, that commerce, during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, was by no means confined to the Italian states. Flanders had long been as famous for the manufacture of linen and woollen cloths, as Italy was for that of silk. All the wool of England, before the reign of Edward III. except a small quantity wrought into coarse cloths for home consumption, was sold to the Flemings or Lombards, but chiefly to the former, and manufactured by them; and it was not till the middle of the fifteenth century (so late were our ancestors of availing themselves of their natural commercial advantages!) that the English were capable of fabricating cloth for foreign markets. Bruges was at once the staple for English wool, for the woollen and linen manufactures of the Netherlands, for the naval stores and other bulky commodities of the North, and for the precious commodities of the East, as well as domestic productions, carried thither by the Italian states[2]. It was the greatest emporium in Europe.

A. D. 1508.

Nothing so much advances society as an intercourse with strangers. In proportion as commerce made its way into the different countries of Europe, they successively turned their attention to those objects, and adopted those manners which occupy and distinguished polished nations. Accordingly we find the Italians and Flemings taking the lead in the liberal as well as in the commercial arts, and exhibiting the first examples of cultivated life.

Painting and architecture were revived in Italy toward the end of the thirteenth century. They continued to make rapid progress under different masters, and were both carried

2. Id. ibid. Anderson, *Hist. Com.* vol. i.

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to perfection during the period under review. Tapestry, then in high estimation, had long been manufactured with the greatest ingenuity in the Low Countries; and the Flemings, in their turn, became painters and architects, before the rest of Europe were furnished with the necessary arts. Ghent and Bruges, Venice and Genoa, were splendid cities, adorned with stately buildings, while the inhabitants of London and Paris lived in wretched cottages, without so much as a chimney to carry up the smoke. The fire was made on the ground in the middle of the apartment, and all the family sat round it, like the Laplanders in their huts [3]. This rude method of building and living, continued to be common in considerable towns, both in France and England, as late as the beginning of the sixteenth century.

Learning and politeness are supposed to keep pace with each other. But this observation seems to have been made without due attention, to have been formed into a maxim by some dogmatist, and implicitly adopted by succeeding writers; for if applied to the abstract sciences, it seems equally void of foundation, whether we consider the fact itself, the nature of those sciences, or the manners of the literati in different ages. Politeness arises from the habits of social life, and the intercourse of men and of nations; it is therefore more likely to accompany commerce than learning. But it must be allowed, at the same time, that manners receive their last polish from works of imagination and sentiment; which soften the mind by pictures of natural and moral beauty, and dispose it to tenderness and social affection.

These reflections, my dear Philip, naturally lead us to the most curious and interesting inquiries; "the revival of letters, and the progress of genius and manners." The method in which you now study history, does not permit me to treat those subjects so fully as their importance may seem to require; yet shall I take care to omit nothing essential for a

3. Erasmus. Hollingshed.

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gentleman to know, while I ſtudiouſly avoid every thing that belongs to the mere antiquary. An attempt to trace, with critical minuteneſs, through dark and ignorant ages, the obſcure ſources of refinement, is like travelling over barren mountains and uninhabited deſarts, in ſearch of the remote fountain of the Nile, inſtead of contemplating the accumulated majeſty of that river; when greatly bountiful its myſterious waters ſhed health and plenty over an extenſive kingdom, and furniſh the means of an enriching commerce, which feeds and employs millions, and calls forth every power of the mind, and cheriſhes every virtue of the heart.

The firſt permanent ſtep towards the revival of letters in Europe, was the erection of ſchools under lay preceptors. Alfred and Charlemagne, thoſe early luminaries of the modern world, had ſhed a temporary luſtre over the ages in which they lived. They had encouraged learning both by their example and patronage, and ſome gleams of genius began to break forth; but the promiſing dawn did not arrive at perfect day. The ſchools erected by theſe great monarchs were confined ſolely to the churches and monaſteries, and monks were almoſt the only inſtructors of youth. The contracted ideas of ſuch men, partly ariſing from their mode of life, partly from their religious opinions, made them utterly unfit for the communication of liberal knowledge. Science, in their hands, degenerated into a barbarous jargon, and genius again ſunk in the gloom of ſuperſtition. A long night of ignorance ſucceeded. Learning was conſidered as dangerous to true piety, and darkneſs was neceſſary to hide the uſurpations of the clergy, who were then exalting themſelves on the ruins of the civil power. The ancient poets and orators were repreſented as ſeducers to the path of deſtruction. Virgil and Horace were the pimps of hell, Ovid a lecherous fiend, and Cicero a vain declaimer, impiouſly elated with the talent of heatheniſh reaſoning. Ariſtotle's logic alone was recommended, becauſe it was found capable of involving the ſimpleſt arguments, and perplexing the

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plaineſt truths. It became the univerſal ſcience: and Europe for almoſt three centuries, produced no compoſition that can afford pleaſure to a claſſical reader. Incredible legends, unedifying homilies, and trite expoſitions of ſcripture, were the only labours of the learned during that dark period. But the gloom at laſt began to diſappear, and the ſceptre of Knowledge was wreſted from the hand of Superſtition. Several enlightened perſons among the laity, who had ſtudied under the Arabs in Spain, undertook the education of youth about the beginning of the eleventh century, in the chief cities of Italy; and afterward in thoſe of France, England, and Germany. Inſtruction was communicated in a more rational manner: more numerous and more uſeful branches of ſcience were taught; a taſte for ancient literature was revived; and ſome Latin poems were written, before the cloſe of the twelfth century, not unworthy of the latter times of the Roman empire [4].

The human ſoul during this period, ſeems to have rouſed itſelf, as from a lethargy. The ſame enthuſiaſm, which prompted one ſet of men to ſignalize their valour in the Holy Land, inſpired another with the ardour of tranſmitting to poſterity the gallant actions of the former, and of animating the zeal of thoſe pious warriors, by the fabulous adventures of former Chriſtian heroes. Theſe performances were compoſed in verſe; and ſeveral of them with much elegance, and no ſmall degree of imagination. But many bars were yet in the way of literary refinement. The taſte of the age was too rude to reliſh the beauties of claſſical compoſition: the Latin language, in which all ſcience was conveyed, was but imperfectly known to the bulk of readers; and the ſcarcity of parchment, together with the expence of tranſcribing, rendered books ſo extremely dear, as to be only within the reach of a few. Learning, however, continued to advance, in ſpite of every obſtruction; and the invention of paper in

4. Warton, *Hiſt. of Engliſh Poetry*, vol. i.

the fourteenth century, and of printing about the middle of the fifteenth, made knowledge so general within a century after, that Italy began to compare, in arts and in letters, her modern with her ancient state, and to contrast the age of Leo X. with that of the second Cæsar.

In the mean time, a singular revolution had taken place in the empire of Genius, introduced by one no less singular in the system of Manners. Women, among the ancient Greeks and Romans, seem to have been considered merely as objects of sensuality, or of domestic conveniency. They were devoted to a state of seclusion and obscurity, had few attentions offered them, and were permitted to take as little share in the conversation, as in the general commerce of life. But the northern nations, who paid a kind of devotion to the softer sex, even in their native forests, had no sooner settled themselves in the provinces of the Roman empire, than the female character began to assume new consequence. Those fierce barbarians, who seemed to thirst only for blood, who involved in one undistinguished ruin the monuments of ancient grandeur and ancient ingenuity, and who devoted to the flames the knowledge of ages, always forbore to offer any violence to the women. They brought along with them the respectful gallantry of the North, which had power to restrain even their savage ferocity; and they introduced into the West of Europe, a generosity of sentiment, and a complaisance toward the ladies, to which the most polished nations of antiquity were strangers.

These sentiments of generous gallantry were fostered by the institution of Chivalry, which lifted women yet higher in the scale of life. Instead of being nobody in society, she became its *primum mobile*. Every knight devoting himself to danger, declared himself the humble servant of some lady, and that lady was generally the object of his love. Her honour was supposed to be intimately connected with his, and her smile was the reward of his valour: for her he attacked, for her he defended, and for her he shed his blood.

Courage, animated by ſo powerful a motive, loſt ſight of every thing but enterprize. Incredible toils were chearfully endured; incredible actions were performed; and the boldeſt inventions of fiction were more than realized. The effect was reciprocal. Women, proud of their influence, became worthy of the heroiſm they had inſpired: they were not to be approached but by the high-minded and the brave; and men, in thoſe gallant times, could only hope to be admitted to the boſom of the chaſte fair, after having proved their fidelity and affection by years of perſeverance and of peril.

A ſimilar change took place in the operations of war. The perfect hero of antiquity was ſuperior to fear, but he made uſe of every artifice to annoy his enemy: impelled by animoſity and hoſtile paſſion, like the ſavage in the American woods, he was only anxious of attaining his end, without regarding whether fraud or force were the means. But the true Knight, or modern hero of the middle ages, who ſeems to have had, in all his rencounters, his eye fixed on the judicial combat, or Judgment of God, had an equal contempt for ſtratagem and danger. He diſdained to take advantage of his enemy: he deſired only to ſee him, and to combat him upon equal terms, truſting that Heaven would interpoſe in behalf of the juſt; and as he profeſſed only to vindicate the cauſe of religion, of injured beauty, or oppreſſed innocence, he was farther confirmed in this enthuſiaſtic opinion, by his own heated imagination. Strongly perſuaded that the deciſion muſt be in his favour, he fought as if under the influence of divine inſpiration, rather than of military ardour [5]. Thus the ſyſtem of chivalry, by a ſingular combination of manners, blended the heroic and ſanctified characters, united devotion and valour, zeal and gallantry, and reconciled the love of God and of the ladies.

From theſe new manners aroſe a new ſpecies of compoſition; namely the Romance, or modern heroic fable. It was

5. *Mem. ſur l'Ancien Chevalrie*, par M. De la Curne de St. Palaye.

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originally written in verſe: and by giving a new direction to genius, baniſhed for a time that vein of ancient poetry, which had been ſo ſucceſsfully revived and cultivated during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Modern poetry, however, loſt nothing by this relapſe. Had claſſical taſte and judgment been ſo early eſtabliſhed, imagination muſt have ſuffered: truth and reaſon, as an ingenious writer obſerves, would have chaſed before their time, thoſe viſions of illuſive fancy which delight to hover on the gloom of ſuperſtition, and which form ſo conſiderable a part of our polite literature. We ſhould ſtill have been ſtrangers to the beautiful extravagancies of romantic fabling.

This new ſpecies of compoſition took its riſe in the thirteenth century, among the Troubadours or minſtrels of Provence; and was originally written in the Provençal dialect, then the moſt poliſhed and univerſal of any modern tongue. Theſe Troubadours, who ſeem to have been the lineal ſucceſſors of the Celtic bards, had followed in crowds to the Holy Land, the princes and nobles by whom they were patroniſed. They had ſeen the riches and ſplendour of oriental cities, and the pomp of oriental princes; they had beheld the greateſt ſcene of war that modern times had yet exhibited. They had ſeen the combined armies of Europe and of Aſia encamp in the plains of Paleſtine; they had alſo ſeen them engage. Their imagination was inflamed by the ſumptuous equipages, gorgeous banners, armorial cognizances, and grand pavilions, in which the champions of the croſs ſtrove to excel each other; but ſtill more by the enthuſiaſtic valour of the combatants. They had ſeen many wonderful things, and heard many marvellous tales; and they gave to the whole, on their return, the colouring of poetic fancy, heightened by all the exaggerations of Aſiatic imagery, and filled with all the extravagancies of Aſiatic fiction [6].

6. Among theſe may be numbered dwarfs, giants, dragons, and necromancers; for I am unwilling to give up to the Eaſt, with a certain learned critic, the honour of the beautiful invention of fairies. See Warton, *Hiſt. Engliſh Poetry*, vol. i.

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The ignorance and credulity of the age, the superstitious veneration paid to the heroes of the crusades, the frightful ideas formed of the infidels, and the distance of country, made the wildest conceptions of the poet be received with all the avidity of truth. The romance became the favourite mode of composition; and as every kingdom in Europe had its valorous knights, every kingdom soon had its romances: and every romance was nearly the same. Whether the scene was laid in ancient or in modern times, in Spain or in Syria, the same set of ideal beings were introduced, the same kind of plot was pursued, and the same manners were painted. A lady miraculously fair and chaste, and a knight more than humanly brave and constant, encountering monsters, and resisting the allurements of enchantresses, formed the groundwork of all those unnatural compositions.

Modern poetry, however, did not long remain in this rude state. The Romance, which had its rise in the manners of chivalry, and which rendered them still more romantic, fell into disrepute as soon as those manners began to decline. It was succeeded by the allegorical tale; in which the virtues and vices, appetites and passions, took the place of human beings, and were made subservient to the design of the poet. This shadowy production was followed by the Italian epic; which, like the heroic poem of the Greeks, consists of a compound of mortal, immortal, and allegorical personages. Dante, Ariosto, and Tasso, are supposed to have carried it to perfection.

Dante, the father of Italian poetry, flourished in the beginning of the fourteenth century. His *Inferno*, though full of extravagancies, is one of the greatest efforts of human genius. No poem, ancient or modern, affords more striking instances of the true sublime, and true pathetic[7]. He was succeeded

7. Since the first publication of this work, Mr. Hayley has given to the world an *Essay on Epic Poetry*; a performance, whatever may be its poetical merit,

succeeded by Petrarch and Boccacio, who perfected the Italian language.

Petrarch is the first modern poet who writes with classical elegance and purity. He appears to have been intimately acquainted with the beauties of the ancients, and to have studied their graces. His Canzoni, or lyric pieces, have often all the ease of Horace, and all the delicacy of Tibullus. In many of them, however, we discover a degree of that puerile conceit or affectation of wit, that perpetual effort to say something brilliant, which seems inseparable from Italian poetry; and the Platonic ideas with which all his passionate writings abound, though admired by his countrymen, as a decent veil to love, give to his celebrated sonnets to Laura too much the air of hymns to a divinity, to interest the human heart. His elegy on the death of that lady, whose story is well known, has been much, and deservedly admired. It partakes of the faults, and of the beauties of all his compositions, as will appear from the following lines, translated by sir William Jones, in the true spirit of the original.

merit, which abounds with much good sense and sound criticism. And I am happy to find my opinion of the higher Italian poets supported by the suffrage of an author, who possesses so large a share of public favour. He thus concludes the character of Dante, after judiciously observing, that he *raised to epic pomp his native tongue:*

" Unequal spirit! in thy various strain,
" With all their influence light and darkness reign;
" In thy strange verse and wayward theme alike
" New forms of beauty and disorder strike;
" Extremes of harmony and discord dwell,
" The seraph's music and the dæmon's yell!
" The patient reader, to thy merit just,
" With transport glows, and shudders with disgust.
" Thy failing spring from thy disastrous time;
" Thy stronger beauties from a soul sublime,
" Whose vigour burst, like the volcano's flame,
" From central darkness to the sphere of fame."

Essay on Epic Poetry, Epist. iii.

Go

"Go, plaintive breeze, to Laura's flow'ry bier,
"Heave the warm figh, and fhed the tender tear.
"There to the awful fhade due homage pay,
"And foftly thus addrefs the facred clay;
"Say, envied earth, that doft thofe charms infold,
"Where are thofe cheeks, and where thofe locks of gold?
"Where thofe eyes, which oft the mufe has fung?
"Where thofe fweet lips and that enchanting tongue?
"Ye radiant treffes, and thou, nectar'd fmile,
"Ye looks that might the melting fkies beguile,
"You robb'd my foul of reft, my eyes of fleep,
"You taught me how to love, and how to weep."

Boccacio has great and various merit. He is chiefly known as a profe writer; and his profe compofitions are fuperior, in purity of diction, to thofe of any other Italian author. But if his modefty had not led him to commit to the flames his poetical performances, from an apprehenfion of their inferiority to thofe of his mafter Petrarch, he might poffibly have appeared no lefs confiderable as a poet. One piece, which paternal tendernefs preferved, and three more that efcaped the general ruin, give reafon for this opinion. The favourite piece is entitled the *Thefeid*; and although it confounds, like all the poems of that age, ancient and modern manners, time, and ceremonies, it abounds with fo many native beauties, as to leave criticifm only room for admiration. It is of the heroic kind; and the fable is better conftructed, and filled with more interefting incidents, than that of any other Italian poem of the fame period [8]. It has been rendered into Englifh, with alterations and additions, by Chaucer, under the name of the *Knight's Tale*; and, as mo-

8. "The gay Boccacio tempts the Italian Mufe,
"More varied notes and different themes to chufe;
"Themes which her voice had dar'd not yet to found,
"Valour's heroic feats by beauty crown'd."

Id. Ibid.

dernized by Dryden, is perhaps the moſt animated and truly harmonious piece of verſification, of the ſame extent, in our language.

The reputation of Boccacio however, with the world in general is chiefly founded on his *Decameron*; which is truly an enchanting work. It contains more good tales, of the gay and humorous kind, than had then been produced by all former writers, ancient or modern. The moſt celebrated moderns, in that walk, have indeed borrowed from it their beſt pieces. Chaucer and Fontaine, though they lived at almoſt three hundred years diſtance from each other, are equally indebted to the *Decameron*. Thoſe tales of Boccacio, which may be conſidered as the moſt early gleanings of popular anecdote, are the firſt modern compoſitions that give us any juſt idea of the manners of domeſtic life; and both the ſtyle in which they are related, and the ſubjects which they unfold, prove that civilization was then in an advanced ſtate in Italy.

But Italy was not the only country where civilization had made advances. The Engliſh court was, in that age, the moſt ſplendid in Europe, and one of the moſt poliſhed. Thither many accompliſhed foreigners reſorted, to behold the grandeur, and to enjoy the bounty of the third Edward. The ſpoils of France ſwelled the pomp of England in his reign; while a captive king, and his unfortunate nobles, civilized its manners, by accuſtoming his haughty and inſolent barons to the exerciſe of mutual complaiſance. Edward III. himſelf, and his illuſtrious ſon, the Black Prince, were the examples of all that was great in arms, or gallant in courteſy They were the patrons and the mirrors of chivalry. The ſtately caſtle of Windſor, built in this illuſtrious reign, ſaw the round table of king Arthur reſtored, and the order of the Garter inſtituted; that glorious tribute to gallantry, and ſacred badge of honour. Tilts, tournaments, and pageants, were conſtantly exhibited; and with a magnificence formerly unknown.

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The ladies, who thronged the court of Edward, and crowded to ſuch ſpectacles, arrayed in the richeſt habits, were the judges in thoſe peaceful, though not always bloodleſs combats; and the victorious knight, in receiving from the hand of beauty the reward of his prowefs, became deſirous of exciting other paſſions beſide that of admiration. He began to turn his eyes from fancy to the heart. He aſpired at an intereſt in the ſeat of the affections. Inſtead of the cold conſent of virtue, he ſought the warm return of love; inſtead of acquieſcence, he demanded ſenſibility. Female pride was rouſed at ſuch a requeſt: aſſiduities and attentions were employed to ſoothe it; and nature and cuſtom, vanity and feeling, were long at war in the breaſt of woman. During the courſe of this ſentimental ſtruggle, which had its riſe in a more rational mode of thinking, which opened more freedom of intercourſe, and terminated in our preſent familiar manners, the two ſexes mutually poliſhed each other; the men acquired more ſoftneſs and addreſs, the women more knowledge and graces.

In a reign of ſo much heroiſm and gallantry, the Muſes were not likely to ſleep. Jeffery Chaucer, the father of Engliſh poetry, was the brighteſt ornament of Edward's court. He added to a lively genius and a learned education, a thorough knowledge of life and manners. He was perfectly a man of the world; had frequently viſited France and Italy, and ſometimes under the advantage of a public character. He had ſtudied the Italian and Provençal poets, was intimately acquainted with both languages, and attempted ſucceſsfully all the kinds of poetry then in uſe. His tranſlation of the *Theſeid* of Boccace, I have already mentioned. He alſo tranſlated, and greatly improved, the famous allegorical poem, called the *Romance of the Roſe*, written by William of Lorris and John of Meun, two celebrated French poets of thoſe times: and he compoſed the *Canterbury Tales* after the model of the *Decameron*. They abound with much true humour and pleaſantry; and, though

chiefly borrowed, entitle their author to a distinguished rank among the writers of his age. The Prologues, in particular, which are wholly his own, contain a vein of moral satire that has not hitherto been exceeded.

Chaucer, however, had many disadvantages to struggle with, from which his cotemporaries were in a great measure free. William the Conqueror had attempted to extirpate the English tongue. The Norman language was ordered to be used in all public writings, and taught in all public schools. It was also the dialect of the court. That badge of slavery was only abolished by Edward III. It had continued almost three hundred years. Chaucer had therefore to create, or at least to form a new dialect. This circumstance ought always to be attended to in contemplating the writings of our venerable bard; as it alone can account for that prodigious disparity observable, after all his diligence, between the progress of English manners, and of the English language. Had things continued to proceed in their natural order, Chaucer's style would now have been nearly as intelligible as that of Shakspeare.

But this bright dawn of English literature and English refinement, was deeply obscured by the civil wars that followed and which continued, with little interruption, till the accession of Henry VII. During that long period of anarchy, genius went to decay; and the animosities of faction had rendered the manners of the people almost altogether savage. The severity of Henry's temper and government was little calculated to promote either letters or politeness; and the religious disputes, which took place under the reign of his son, were a new bar in the way of civilization. Chaucer had no successor worthy of himself, till the days of Elizabeth.

Like circumstances obstructed the progress of literature in France, till the reign of Francis I. of whom I shall afterwards have occasion to speak, and who is deservedly styled the Father of the French Muses. *Chants Royaux, Balades, Rondeaux,*

Rondeaux, and *Pastorales*, had taken place of the Provençal poetry, about the beginning of the fourteenth century; but Froissart, who cultivated with success this *New Poetry*, as it was called, cannot be considered as equal to William of Lorris or John of Meun. The *Romance of the Rose* was still the finest French poem.

Genius, in the mean time, continued to advance, with giant strides, in Italy. A succession of great poets followed Dante in the highest walk of the Muse: at length appeared Ariosto and Tasso, the glory of the sixteenth century, and whose celebrated works are supposed to contain all that is excellent in poetry. The *Orlando* of Ariosto is a wonderful production. It is formed upon the Gothic plan, if it can be said to have any, and consequently is wild and extravagant; but it abounds with so many, and such various beauties, that, whether considered as a whole or in parts, it commands our fondest admiration[9]. The *Jerusalem* of Tasso is a more classical performance. It is constructed after the Grecian model: and adds to an interesting and happily conducted fable, a number of striking and well drawn characters, all operating to one end, together with a profusion of beautiful machinery, affecting situations, sublime images, and bold descriptions[10]. Voltaire prefers the first to the *Odyssey*, and the

9. "High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
"The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
"Pois'd with his lyre between a Griffin's wings,
"Her sportive darling, Ariosto sings.
"As the light cloud, whose varying vapours fly,
"Driven by the zephyr of the evening sky,
"Fixes and charms the never-wearied view,
"By taking ev'ry shape and ev'ry hue;
"So, by Variety's supreme controul,
"His changeful numbers seize the willing soul."

Hayley, *Essay on Epic Poetry*, Epist. iii.

10. After having characterized Ariosto, Mr. Hayley proceeds thus, in perfect conformity with the text:

"Of chaster fire a rival name succeeds,
"Whose bold and glowing hand religion leads;
"In

the second to the *Iliad* of Homer; but you, I hope, have a juster taste of solid elegance, and of what is truly great in nature and in poetry, than to be swayed by such an opinion.

The progress of genius in Italy, however, during this period, was not confined to poetry; and still less to one species of it. Petrarch and Boccacio had their successors, as well as Dante. The dramatic talent began to disclose itself. Theatrical representation was revived. Both tragedy and comedy had been attempted with success before the middle of the sixteenth century: but that musical drama, which has long been so universal in Italy, and which in excluding too often nature and probability, has enlarged the bounds of harmony, was yet in its infancy.

Music is one of the first sciences that is cultivated, and the last that is perfected in any country. The rude tale of the bard is accompanied with wild notes of his voice and harp, in order to atone for his want of ideas, and to engage attention; but as fable becomes more extensive and rich, the legendary poet disdains to court the ear with any thing but the harmony of his numbers. He relies for interest solely on the powers of imagination and sentiment; and these, without any adventitious aid, produce their effect upon a people civilized, but not corrupted. The dramatic writer, in like manner, obtains his end, for a time, by the happy disposition of plot, the force of dialogue, and the strength and variety of his characters. But in proportion as mankind become more refined, they become more effeminate; and the luxury of harmony is found necessary to give to theatrical representation its proper influence. Then, and not till then, does the

"In solemn accent and in sacred state,
"With classic lore and Christian zeal elate,
"Sweetly pathetic and sublimely strong,
"Tasso begins his more majestic song;
"The Muse of Sion, not implor'd in vain,
"Guides to th' impassion'd soul his heavenly strain."

Id. ibid.

musical

musical science attain perfection; and then poetry begins to decline. Every thing is sung; every thing is composed to be warbled through the eunuch's throat, and sense is sacrificed to sound.

A similar observation may be extended to history. The deeds of the hero are the first object of human curiosity; yet mankind, in almost every country, have ceased to act with dignity, before their actions have been properly recorded. Truth appears cold and insipid to a people inclined to wonder, and wonder is the predominant passion of all uncivilized nations. Fiction is called in to gratify it; and fable is for a time, received as history. But when men come to be more employed about political objects, they become more desirous of being informed than amazed: they wish to know the real actions of their ancestors, and the causes and the consequences of such actions. The historian takes advantage of this disposition of mind to procure admission to his labours; but as it is more difficult to ascertain facts than to assume them, and easier to assign motives of action, and deduce incidents ingeniously from them, than to trace the motives of men in their actions, and give to truth such a degree of colouring as will make it interest, without rendering its validity suspected, history has every where been later in attaining perfection than the highest works of imagination.

Italy had at last her historians, and excellent ones. Machiavel successfully courted the comic muse, unfolded the principles of a dark and pernicious policy, and digested the annals of his native country with all the discernment of Tacitus; while Guicciardini, a more amiable writer, related the transactions of his own times with the elegance and exactness of Thucidides.

Philosophy was only wanting in the sixteenth century, to bring Italy within the line of comparison with ancient Greece, when Greece was in her glory. A number of independent and free states vied with each other in all the elegant and commercial arts; in wealth and in luxury, in manners

ners and in talents, in pomp and in power. Proud of her privileges, and of her liberal acquiſitions, ſhe looked down with contempt upon every other country, and branded every other people with the name of barbarians. Two great monarchs, like thoſe of Perſia and Macedon, were contending who ſhould be her maſter. She wanted only the lights of philoſophy to render the parallel complete. Bewildered in the mazes of ſcholaſtic reaſoning, or loſt in the dreams of perverted Platoniſm, her ſages were ſtill alike ignorant of the ſyſtem of man and of the univerſe. And before they could know either, it was neceſſary that the veil of ſuperſtition ſhould be rent; that mankind, beholding the puppet to which they had kneeled, and by which they had been overawed, might fearleſly look through the range of nature, and contemplate its phyſical and moral order.

LETTER LVII.

The Progreſs of NAVIGATION, *and particularly among the* PORTUGUESE. *A ſhort Introduction to the Hiſtory of* PORTUGAL. *The Diſcoveries and Settlements of the* PORTUGUESE *on the Coaſt of* AFRICA, *and in the* EAST INDIES, *by the Cape of* GOOD HOPE. *The Diſcovery of* AMERICA *by the* SPANIARDS; *the Settlement of the* WEST INDIES, *and the Conqueſt of* MEXICO *and* PERU, *together with ſome Reflections on the moral and political Conſequences of thoſe great Events.*

FROM the arts that poliſh nations, my dear Philip, let us turn our eyes more particularly toward thoſe that aggrandiſe them; which ſupply the wants of one people with the ſuperfluities of another, and make all things common to all. Such are navigation and commerce. By theſe, and the arts to which they gave birth, the Phœnicians and Carthaginians crowded with cities their barren ſhores; and attained the firſt rank among ancient nations; by theſe, in

later

later times, the Venetians and Dutch, struggling from dirt and sea-weed, crowned with palaces their lakes and marshes, and became, in different æras, the most opulent and powerful people in Modern Europe; by these Britain now governs the ocean, and gives law to the opposite extremities of the globe, at the same time that she wafts from pole to pole, the luxuries and the conveniencies of life [1].

The navigation of Europe, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, though much improved since the age of Charlemagne, was chiefly confined to the Mediterranean and Baltic seas, and was still little more than what is now called *coasting*. Flanders was the great theatre of commerce. Thither, as I have already had occasion to observe, the Italian states conveyed from the ports of Egypt, the precious commodities of the East: and thither the Hanseatic merchants carried from the shores of the Baltic, the naval stores, and other rude merchandise of the North. To this common mart all European nations resorted. Here they sold or exchanged the produce of their several countries, and supplied themselves with what they wanted, without dreaming of new ports, or suspecting that the system of commerce could be altered. Dantzick, Lisbon, and Alexandria, continued to mark the limits of practical navigation; when the enlightened and enterprising genius of Don Henry of Portugal extended the views of the mariner, and emboldened him to pilot the Atlantic, or Great Western Ocean. But before I speak of that prince, and the discoveries which he accomplished, I must say a few words of his country, which I have hitherto considered only as an appendage of Spain.

Portugal, which forms the western coast of the southern peninsula of Europe, had no existence as a separate state till towards the close of the eleventh century. About that time Alphonso VI. king of Castile and Leon, having conquered from the Moors the northern provinces of the present king-

1. This letter was written before the revolt of our American colonies.

dom of Portugal, bestowed them, together with his natural daughter, upon Henry of Burgundy, a noble volunteer, who had assisted him in his wars. Henry took only the title of count; but his son Alphonso, having recovered other provinces from the Moors, assumed the regal dignity in 1139. The kings of Portugal, like those of Spain, long spent their force in combating the Moors, and had no connexion with the rest of Europe. A detail of those barbarous wars would be equally void of instruction and amusement. I shall therefore only observe, that the succession continued uninterrupted in the line of Burgundy, till the death of Ferdinand in 1383; when John of Castile, who had married the infanta of Portugal, claimed the crown, as the king had left no male issue. But the states of Portugal, after an interregnum of eighteen months, gave it to John, natural brother of their deceased sovereign, and at that time regent of the kingdom [2].

A. D. 1385.

This John, surnamed the Bastard, no less politic than enterprising, proved worthy of his new dignity. He was the first European prince who formed a respectable navy; which he employed, with equal success, in annoying his enemies, and in protecting his subjects. He took Ceuta from the Moors, and over-awed the states of Barbary during his whole reign. He had several sons, who all signalized themselves by their valour and abilities; but more especially the third, Don Henry, whose bold and enlightened genius, assisted by the reports of travellers, led him to project discoveries in the Western Ocean.

A. D. 1414.

This amiable prince, who joined the virtues of a hero and a patriot to the knowledge of a philosopher, turned to use that astronomy which the Arabs had preserved. He had a considerable share in the invention of the Astrolabe, and first perceived the advantage that might be drawn from the direction of the magnetic needle to the North; which, though

2. Neufville, *Hist. Gen. de Portugal.*

already

already known in Europe, had not hitherto been employed with any ſucceſs in navigation. He eſtabliſhed an obſervatory at Sagres, near Cape St. Vincent, where many perſons were inſtructed in aſtronomy and the art of ſailing. The pilots formed under his eye not only doubled Cape Non, long ſuppoſed an inſurmountable barrier, but advanced as far as Cape Bajadore, and in their A. D. 1420. return diſcovered the iſland of Madeira. Other pilots, yet more bold, were ſent out. They doubled Cape Bajadore, Cape Blanco, Cape Verd, and at laſt Cape Sierra Leona, within eight degrees of the line, before the death of Don Henry. A. D. 1463. In the courſe of theſe voyages, the Azores and Cape de Verd iſlands had been diſcovered, and the vine and the ſugar-cane introduced into the iſland of Madeira, and there cultivated with ſucceſs.

Under the reign of John II. a prince of the moſt profound ſagacity and moſt extenſive views, who firſt made Liſbon a free port, the Portugueſe proſecuted their diſcoveries with equal ardour and ſucceſs. The river Zara, on the other ſide of the line, conducted them to the kingdom of Congo, A. D. 1484. in the interior part of Africa, where they made eaſy conqueſts, and eſtabliſhed an advantageous commerce. Captain Diaz paſſed the extreme point of Africa, A. D. 1486. to which he gave the name of the *Stormy Cape*; but the king, who ſaw more fully the importance of that diſcovery, ſtyled it the *Cape of Good Hope*.

Emmanuel I. purſued the great projects of his predeceſſors. He ſent out a fleet of four ſhips, under the command of Vaſco de Gama, A. D. 1497. a noble Portugueſe, in order to complete the paſſage to India by ſea. This admiral poſſeſſed all the knowledge and talents neceſſary for ſuch an expedition. After being aſſailed by tempeſts, A. D. 1498. encircling the eaſtern coaſt of Africa, and ranging through unknown ſeas, he happily arrived at the

city of Calicut on the coaſt of Malabar, or the higher part of the weſtern ſide of the great peninſula of India [3].

Calicut was at that time the emporium of Indoſtan. Thither the Arabs reſorted for all the rich products and precious manufactures of the Eaſt. Theſe they carried in ſhips to the ports of the Red Sea, and ſold to the Italian merchants from Alexandria. This information Gama received at Melinda, on the coaſt of Zanquebar, the moſt eaſtern part of Africa, where he had touched; and engaged a pilot, who conducted him into the harbour of Calicut, when the trade was at its height. Here he fortunately met with a native of Barbary, named Monzaida, who underſtood the Portugueſe language, and whoſe admiration of that people over-balanced the prejudices of religion and country. This admiration determined Monzaida to do every thing in his power to ſerve ſtrangers, who unboſomed themſelves to him without reſerve. He procured Gama an audience of the Samorin or emperor, who received him very favourably; and a treaty of commerce was ſet on foot in the name of the king of Portugal. But this negotiation, when almoſt completed, was broken off by the inſinuations of the Arabs. Jealous of their lucrative trade, they repreſented ſo ſtrongly the danger of ſuch an alliance, and the ambition of the Portugueſe, that Samorin took the ungenerous reſolution of putting to death thoſe bold navigators, whom he had lately treated with kindneſs, and whoſe friendſhip he ſeemed to deſire.

Informed of his danger by the faithful Monzaida, Gama ſent his brother on board the fleet. "Should you hear," ſaid he, "of my death or impriſonment, I prohibit you, as "your commander, either to attempt to releaſe me or to "avenge my fate. Set ſail immediately and inform the king "of the ſucceſs of our voyage. I am happy in having per-"formed his orders, and diſcovered a paſſage to India for "Portugal [4]."

3. *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

4. Faria y Souſa, *Port. Aſia*, vol. i.

Fortu-

Fortunately, however, matters were not pushed to that extremity. Gama lived to carry to Portugal the news of his own success. The Samorin permitted him to join his fleet, and he departed soon after for Europe.

No language can express the joy of the Portuguese on the return of Gama to Lisbon. They saw themselves, by one daring enterprize, in possession of the richest commerce in the world; and no less superstitious than avaricious, they flattered themselves with the project of extending their religion along with their dominion. A. D. 1499.

The pope farther encouraged this hope. Glad of an occasion of asserting his universal sovereignty, he granted to the Portuguese all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover in the East, on condition that they should there plant the catholic faith. The whole nation was seized with the enthusiasm of conversion and of conquest. They presented themselves in crowds to man the new fleet destined for India; and thirteen ships sailed, as soon as the season would permit, from the Tagus to Calicut, under the command of Alvarez de Cabral. A. D. 1500.

This admiral in his passage keeping out to sea, in order to avoid the calms on the coast of Africa, and the storms which had been met with in doubling the Cape of Good Hope, discovered the rich country now called Brazil, to which he gave the name of the *Land of the Holy Cross*. He took possession of it in the name of the king his master, and proceeded on his voyage. When he arrived at the coast of Malabar, the Samarin made him an offer of friendship, and invited him to Calicut, where he had an audience of that Indian prince, and was permitted to open a magazine of commerce. But this good understanding was of short duration. The Arabs again found means to poison the mind of the Samorin: the admiral did not behave with the greatest discretion: mutual jealousies took place, mutual fears, and mutual injuries. At last the inhabitants of Calicut rose, murdered fifty Portuguese, and burnt their magazine. This

act of hostility did not escape unpunished. Cabral, in revenge of such a breach of faith, and such undermining perfidy, destroyed all the Arabian vessels in the port, beat down great part of the city, and left it in flames [5].

After this second rupture with the Samorin the measures of the Portuguese in India were totally changed. The peaceful system of Gama was laid aside: the maxims of mutual advantage gave place to those of violence, of force, and of fear; and commerce was established by the sword. Cabral, on leaving Calicut, entered into a negociation with the kings of Cochin, Cananor, Onor, Culan, and other Indian princes, who were tributaries of the Samorin, and desirous of independency. This love of freedom A. D. 1501. procured the Portuguese the sovereignty of Malabar, and the trade of India. Cabral promised those deluded princes support, and carried their ambassadors to the court of Lisbon, where such political steps were taken as rendered success infallible. A force was sent out sufficient to combat the Samorin. But no prince could obtain the A. D. 1502. protection of Portugal without first acknowledging himself its vassal, permitting a fortress to be erected in his capital, and selling his commodities to its subjects at their own price. No strange merchant might load a cargo, till the Portuguese were served; nor any mariner ravage those seas, but with their passports. They were the terror and admiration of the East, the wonder and envy of the West. All European merchants soon resorted to Lisbon for Indian commodities; because they could there purchase them much cheaper than at Venice, or any other mart to A. D. 1508. which they were brought by the way of Egypt. And happily for Portugal, the Venetians were then sinking under the pressure of the league of Cambray.

In order to secure and render perpetual these invaluable advantages, the chief command in India was given to Al-

5. Maffei, *Hist. Indica.* lib. ii. cap. iv.

phonso

phonso Albuquerque, a man of singular sagacity and penetration, and equally distinguished by his military and political talents. Albuquerque was no sooner invested with the government, than he began to form the most extensive projects; many of which he executed, and with a facility that is altogether incredible. The Arabs settled in India, and their associates, he had long been sensible, were the only power in the East that the Portuguese had to fear. These traders had secretly entered into a league with the Samorin, the Sultan of Egypt, and the Venetians, who were gainers by their commerce, and whose interest it was to destroy the trade of Portugal. The furnishers of the caravans, and navigators of the Red Sea, were the natural enemies of the circumnavigators of the Cape. Albuquerque saw it early, while a private commander. He had therefore done every thing in his power to ruin their settlements on the coast of Arabia, and their united naval force had received a signal overthrow in the Indian Ocean. He now extended his views: he projected nothing less than the conquest of Ormus in the Persian gulf, and of Aden at the mouth of the Red Sea; where Portuguese squadrons stationed, might command the trade of Persia and of Egypt.

The immediate execution of these projects would at once have proved fatal to the commerce of the Arabs and their allies; but Albuquerque, upon mature deliberation, perceived the necessity of establishing the Portuguese more fully on the coast of Malabar, before he divided his forces. He accordingly burnt Calicut, which had long been a thorn in the side of his countrymen; and observing, that the Portuguese had yet no good port in a wholesome air, where they might refit their ships and recruit their seamen, after the fatigues of the European voyage, he resolved to procure one. He found that Lisbon had need of Goa.

A. D. 1509.

Goa, which rises to view in the form of an amphitheatre, is situated towards the middle of the coast of Malabar, in

an iſland detached from the continent by two branches of a river, that throws itſelf into the ſea at ſome diſtance from the city, after having formed beneath its walls one of the fineſt harbours in the world. It properly belonged to the king of Decan; but a Moor, named Idalcan, to whom the government of it had been entruſted, had rendered himſelf its ſovereign. While this uſurper was occupied on the continent, Albuquerque appeared before the city, and
A. D. 1510 carried it by aſſault [6]. It was afterwards recovered, but ſoon retaken: and Goa became the capital of the Portugueſe empire in India.

Albuquerque, whoſe ambition was boundleſs, attempted next to eſtabliſh the Portugueſe on the coaſt of Coromandel.
A. D. 1511. With this view he made an attack upon Malacca, ſituated near the ſtraits of Sincapore, one of the richeſt cities in India, and the beſt adapted for commerce. It was the centre of the trade between Japan, China, the Spice-Iſlands, and the other Indian ports. When Albuquerque appeared before Malacca, he found it in a poſture of defence: and a new obſtacle conſpired to retard his progreſs. His friend Araujo was there a priſoner, and threatened with death the moment the city ſhould be beſieged. Deliberating how to act, while the ſentiments of friendſhip and ambition, perhaps of duty, ſtruggled in his breaſt, he received the following billet from Araujo: "Think only of "the glory and advantage of Portugal: if I cannot be an "inſtrument of your victory, let me not retard it." The place was carried by ſtorm, after an obſtinate defence, and ſeveral changes of fortune. The Portugueſe found in it an immenſe booty, both in treaſure and precious commodities [7]. Albuquerque, whoſe heart was ſuperior to the charms of gold, erected a citadel to ſecure his conqueſt, and returned to Goa.

The friendſhip of the Portugueſe was now courted by the

6. Lafitau, *Hiſt. du Conq. des Port.* *Hiſt. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.
7. Id. Ibid.

Samorin,

Samorin, Idalcan, and all the most formidable Indian princes, who offered to permit fortresses to be built, and factories to be established in any part of their dominions. Albuquerque did not fail to profit by these offers; and judging that the season was now arrived for giving the final blow to the Arabian commerce in the East, he embarked in his original projects, the conquest of Aden and Ormus.

In his attempt upon Aden, which was then the key of Egypt, Albuquerque miscarried: but he committed so many ravages on the coast of the Red Sea, and in the straits of Babelmandel, as entirely ruined the commerce of the Arabs and Egyptians. A. D. 1513. He was more successful in his expedition against Ormus, at that time the most opulent and splendid city in the East. It appears to have been nothing inferior to what we are told of ancient Tyre, either in wealth or in splendour, in industry or in pleasure: and, like Tyre, it was seated in a barren isle. Like Tyre, it seemed only to have been disjoined from the land, that it might become queen of the sea. It was one of the greatest marts in the universe. But its voluptuous inhabitants were little able to withstand the impetuous and hardy valour of the Portuguese. A. D. 1515. Albuquerque soon made himself master of the place, and had the honour of there receiving an embassy from the king of Persia[8].

The reduction of Ormus, which was the last enterprize of this truly great man, together with the possession of Goa and Malacca, gave perfect security to the Portuguese commerce in India. His successors afterwards extended it into China and Japan; but it was never more respectable than under Albuquerque. Yet this founder of his country's greatness died in disgrace, and of a broken heart, if ever any man may be said to have done so. That dauntless spirit which had encountered so many enemies, and surmounted so many dangers, could not support the frown of his prince. Emmanuel,

8. Guyon, *Hist. des Ind. Orient.* tom. i. *Hist. Gen. des Voyages*, tom. i.

become jealous of his glory, had listened to the insinuations of his enemies; had appointed another governor in his stead, and promoted those whom he sent home as criminals. When Albuquerque received this intelligence, he sighed and said, "Can these things be so?—I incurred the hatred of men by "my love for the king, and am disgraced by him through his "prepossession for other men: to the grave, unhappy old "man! to the grave!—thy actions will speak for them- "selves and for thee[9]."

While the Portuguese, my dear Philip, were thus employed in making acquisitions in the East, and appropriating to themselves the most lucrative commerce in the known world, the Spaniards had discovered a new continent toward the West. They had called into existence, as it were, another world; had opened new sources of trade, expanded new theatres of dominion, and displayed new scenes of ambition, of avarice, and of blood.

Christopher Columbus, a Genoese navigator, who resided at Lisbon, and who had devoted himself to the study of astronomy, first conceived the idea of this new continent. Perfectly acquainted with the figure of the earth, the notion of the Antipodes, considered by reason as a chimera, and by religion as impiety, appeared to him an incontestable fact. But if Columbus had not added the stout heart of a hero to the enlightened mind and persevering spirit of a philosopher, the world might still have been ignorant of his discoveries. The Genoese, his countrymen, whom he proposed to put in possession of another hemisphere, treated him as a visionary. He also unfolded his project, the grandest that human genius ever formed, in 1484, to the court of Portugal without success. He next laid it before the court of Spain; where he long suffered all that supercilious neglect which unsupported merit so often meets with from men in office, who are too apt to despise what they do not understand.

9. Id. Ibid.

Ferdinand and Iſabella were then engaged in the conqueſt of Granada. The Spaniſh treaſury was exhauſted. But no ſooner were the Moors ſubdued, than the ambitious mind of Iſabella ſeemed to ſympathiſe with the bold ſpirit of Columbus. She offered to pledge her jewels, in order to furniſh him with a fleet. Three ſmall veſſels were fitted out by other means; and Columbus ſet ſail from the port of Palos, in Andaluſia, on the third of Auguſt, in the year 1492, in queſt of a Weſtern continent, with the title of Admiral and Viceroy of the Iſles and Lands which he ſhould diſcover[10].

Tranſcendant genius and ſuperlative courage, experience almoſt equal difficulty in carrying their deſigns into execution, when they depend on the aſſiſtance of others. Columbus poſſeſſed both, he exerted both; and the concurrence of other heads and other hearts were neceſſary to give ſucceſs to either; he had indolence and cowardice to encounter, as well as ignorance and prejudice. He had formerly been ridiculed as a viſionary, he was now pitied as a deſperado. The Portugueſe navigators, in accompliſhing their firſt diſcoveries, had always ſome reference to the coaſt: cape had pointed them to cape; but Columbus, with no land-mark but the heavens, nor any guide but the Compaſs, boldly launched into the ocean, without knowing what ſhore ſhould receive him, or where he could find reſt for the ſole of his foot. His crew murmured, they mutinied: they propoſed to commit him to thoſe waves with which he ſo wantonly ſported, and return to Spain[11].

This was a ſevere trial to the courage of Columbus, and Columbus only, perhaps, could have ſupported it. The enthuſiaſm of genius added ſtrength to his natural fortitude. Cool and unconcerned himſelf about every thing but his great object, he had recourſe to the ſofteſt language. He encouraged his men by fair promiſes, he deceived his officers

10. *Life of Columbus*, written by his ſon, chap. xv.

11. Oviedo, *Hiſt. des Ind.* lib. iii.

by false reckonings. But all these expedients proving at last ineffectual, he demanded three days indulgence; at the end of which, if he did not discover land, he promised to abandon his project. His request was granted; and on the morning of the second day, being the 12th of October, to his inexpressible joy, he got sight of one of the Bahama islands, to which he gave the name of San Salvador. He took possession of it in the name of their Catholic Majesties, and proceeded on his course [12].

After leaving San Salvador, now better known by the name of Guanahani, given to it by the natives, Columbus fell in with several other small islands; to one of which he gave the name of Isabella, in honour of his patroness, and to another that of Ferdinand, in compliment to the Catholic king. These he rightly judged to belong to that Western continent which he sought, and which he conjectured must reach to the Portuguese settlements in India: hence the name of *West-Indies*. At length he arrived at the island of Cuba, where he entered into some correspondence with the natives, and particularly with the women, from whom he learned, that the gold ornaments which they wore, came from Bohio, a large island to the south-east. Thither Columbus steered: what heart does not pant after gold! he soon reached Bohio, or Hayti, as it was called by the natives, to which he gave the name of Espagnola, altered by us into Hispaniola. Here Columbus built a fort, and planted a little colony; after which, having taken a general survey of the island, and settled a friendly intercourse with the natives, he set out on his return to Spain, carrying along with him a sufficient quantity of gold to evince the importance of his discoveries, and some of those new people to complete the astonishment of Europe.

The natives of Hispaniola, and indeed of all the islands which Columbus had visited, were an easy, indolent, harm-

12. *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxiii.

less

less race. They were of a copper colour. The men and the girls went entirely naked: the women had a mat of cotton wrapped about their loins. They had no hair on any part of the body but the head; a distinction which also is common to the natives of the American continent. They considered the Spaniards as divinities, and the discharge of the artillery as their thunder: they fell on their faces at the sound. The women, however, seem very early to have had less awful apprehensions of their new guests: for they no sooner saw them, than they offered their favours, and courted their embraces as men [13]. Some wicked wit may indeed say, that women from the beginning have been fond of superior beings; and if we credit ancient story, they have often good reason for such fondness. But be that as it may, it is certain that the women of Hispaniola were fonder of the Spaniards than of their husbands. Their husbands were not jealous of them. And in the arms of those wantons the companions of Columbus are said to have caught that fatal malady which has strewed with new thorns the paths of love; and which, if human happiness is to be computed by the balance of pain and pleasure, will be found to be more than a counterpoise to all the gold of Mexico, the silver of Peru, and the diamonds of Brazil.

But let not this misfortune be brought as a charge against the great navigator. He could not know that the new hemisphere contained new maladies: he could not foresee, that he should import into Europe a distemper that would poison the springs of life; which would propagate disease from generation to generation, emasculate the vigour of nations, and multiply a thousand ways the miseries of mankind!—And happily for him, his enemies were ignorant of it at his return. He again entered the port of Palos on the 15th of March, 1493, after a voyage of seven months and eleven days, and was received with universal acclamations of joy.

13. Herrera, dec. i.

Those who had ridiculed his project, was the readiest to pay court to him. He was ordered into the presence of Ferdinand and Isabella, and desired to sit covered like a grandee of Spain. Royal favour beamed upon him with unremitting brightness, and the church loaded him with its benedictions. Superstition lent its sanction to those discoveries which had been made in its defiance. Pope Alexander VI. issued a bull, granting to the sovereigns of Spain all the countries which they had discovered, or should discover, an hundred leagues to the westward of the Azores. A fleet of seventeen sail was fitted out in a few months; and Columbus, vested with yet more extensive powers, and furnished with every thing necessary for discovery, for colonization, or for conquest, again committed himself to the waves in quest of a Western Continent[14].

Great things were expected from this second voyage; and many new islands were discovered: yet it ended in general disappointment, misfortune, and disgust. When Columbus arrived at Hispaniola, with a multitude of missionaries, soldiers and settlers, he found the fortress utterly ruined and the garrison all massacred. They had drawn upon themselves this untimely fate by their arrogance, licentiousness, and tyranny. These particulars he learned from the natives, accompanied with such marking circumstances, as left him no room to disbelieve them. He therefore entered once more into friendly correspondence with those artless people, established a new colony, and built the town of Isabella; afterwards abandoned for that of St. Domingo, which became the capital of the island. His next care was to discover the mines; near which he erected forts, and left garrisons to protect the labourers. But neither the wisdom nor humanity of this great man were sufficient to preserve order among his followers, or to teach them fellow-feeling. They roused anew, by their barbarities, the gentle spirit of the natives; they

14 *Life of Columbus*, chap. xlii. xliii.

quarrelled

quarrelled among themſelves, they roſe againſt their commander. Mortified by ſo many untoward circumſtances, Columbus committed the government of the iſland to his brother Bartholomew, and returned to Spain in 1496, with ſome ſamples of gold duſt and gold ore, pearls, and other precious products, after having a ſecond time attempted in vain to diſcover a Weſtern Continent[15].

Bartholomew Columbus ſuffered many hardſhips, and was on the point of ſinking under the mutineers, before he received any aſſiſtance from the court of Spain; and although the great Chriſtopher was able to clear himſelf of all the aſperſions of his enemies, ſome years elapſed before he could obtain a third appointment for the proſecution of his favourite project. At laſt a ſmall fleet was granted him, and he diſcovered the continent of America, near the mouth of the river Orinoco, on the firſt day of Auguſt in the year 1498. He carried off ſix of the natives, and returned to Hiſpaniola, convinced that he had now reached the great object of his ambition.

But while Columbus was employed in reducing to obedience the mutineers in that iſland, another navigator unjuſtly took from him the honour of the diſcovery of the Weſtern Continent. The merchants of Seville having obtained permiſſion to attempt diſcoveries, as private adventurers, ſent out four ſhips in 1499, under the command of Alonzo de Ojeda, who had accompanied Columbus in his ſecond voyage, aſſiſted by Americus Veſpucius, a Florentine gentleman, deeply ſkilled in the ſcience of navigation. This fleet touched on that part of the weſtern continent already diſcovered by Columbus, whoſe track Ojeda followed; and Americus, who was a man of much addreſs, as well as poſſeſſed of conſiderable literary talents, by publiſhing the firſt voyages on the ſubject, and other artful means, gave his

15. Herrera, dec. i. lib. iii.

name

name to the New World, in prejudice to the illuftrious Genoese [16]. Mankind are now become fenfible of the impofture, but time has fanctified the error; and the great Weftern continent, or fourth divifion of the globe, fo long unknown to the inhabitants of Europe, Afia, and Africa, ftill continues to be diftinguifhed by the name of America.

This, however, was but a fmall misfortune in comparifon of what Columbus was doomed to fuffer. His enemies having prevailed at the court of Madrid, a new governor was fent out to Hifpaniola. The great difcoverer and his brother were loaded with irons, and fent home in that condition, in different fhips. Touched with fentiments of veneration and pity, Valejo, captain of the veffel on board of which the admiral was confined, approached his prifoner with profound refpect, as foon as he was clear of the ifland, and offered to ftrike off the fetters with which he was unjuftly bound. "No Vallejo!"—replied Columbus, with a generous indignation, "I wear thefe fetters in confequence of an order "from my fovereigns. They fhall find me as obedient to "this, as to all their other injunctions. By their command "I have been confined, and their command alone fhall fet "me at liberty [17]."

The Spanifh miniftry were afhamed of the feverity of their creature, Bovadilla: Columbus was fet at liberty on his arrival, and a fourth command granted him in 1502, for the profecution of farther difcoveries. But this expedition did not prove more fortunate than the former; for although Columbus touched at feveral parts of the American continent, where he exchanged trinkets for gold and pearls, to a confiderable amount, he failed in an attempt to eftablifh a colony on the river Yebra or Belem, in the province of Veragua, and loft every thing in his courfe home. He was fhipwrecked on the ifland of Jamaica: his followers mutinied;

16. Herrera, dec. i. lib. iv.

17. *Life of Columbus*, chap. xxxiii.

nied; and after being alternately in danger of perishing by hunger, or by violence, he arrived in Spain, in 1505, to experience a more severe fate than either [18]. Queen Isabella was dead at his return. With her all his hopes of future favour perished. The court received him coldly. His services were too great for humility: his proud heart disdained to sue, and his aspiring spirit could not submit to neglect. He retired to Valadolid, where he was suffered to fall a martyr to the ingratitude of that monarch, to whom he had given the West Indies, and for whom he had opened a passage into a richer and more extensive empire than was ever subdued by the Roman arms. He died with firmness and composure, on the 20th of May, 1506, in the fifty-ninth year of his age [19].

There is something in true genius which seems to be essentially connected with humanity. Don Henry, Gama, and Columbus, prosecuted their discoveries upon the most liberal principles, those of mutual advantage: they sought to benefit, not to destroy their species. After the death of Columbus, the maxims of Spain, like those of Portugal, became altogether bloody. Religion, avarice, and violence, walked hand in hand. The cross was held up as an object of worship, to those who had never heard of the name of Jesus; and millions were deliberately butchered, for not embracing tenets which they could not understand, not delivering treasures which they did not possess, or not suffering oppressions which man was never born to bear, and which his nature cannot sustain [20].

The leader who pursued these new maxims with least violence to humanity, and most advantage to his country, was Fernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico. Before the discovery of that rich and powerful empire, the Spanish colonies of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, and Porto Rico,

18. *Life of Columbus*, chap. lxxxix. xc. xci.
19. Ibid. chap. cviii. Herrera, dec. i. lib. vi.
20. *Relation de Destruys de las Indias*, par Bart. de las Casas.

were in a flouriſhing condition: frequent expeditions had been made to the continent, the ſettlements eſtabliſhed in Caſtello del Oro and the iſthmus of Darien. At laſt a deſcent was made in the gulf of Mexico, and information received of the opulence and grandeur of the emperor Monte-
A. D. 1518. zuma and his capital. Velaſquez, governor of Cuba, to whom this intelligence was communicated, immediately reſolved upon the conqueſt of Mexico, and committed to Cortez, an officer hitherto more diſtinguiſhed by his merit than his rank, the execution of the enterprize: and that gallant ſoldier accompliſhed, what appears too bold even for fiction, the overthrow of an empire that could ſend millions into the field, with ſo ſmall a force as five hundred men[21].

A ſucceſs ſo unexampled, in an unknown country, muſt have been accompanied with many favourable circumſtances, independent of the ability of the general, the courage of the troops, and even the ſuperiority of weapons. Some of theſe
D. 1519. we know. When Cortez landed with his little army on the coaſt of Mexico, he met with a Spaniſh captive, who underſtood the dialect of the country, and whoſe ranſom he obtained. He alſo formed an intimacy with a fair American named Marina, who ſoon learned the Caſtilian language, and became both his miſtreſs and his counſellor. Her attachment communicated itſelf to all the Mexican women, who were generally neglected by their huſbands for the moſt abominable of all debaucheries; that which perverts the animal inſtinct, confounds the diſtinction of ſex, and defeats the leading purpoſe of nature. While the men oppoſed their naked breaſts to the weapons of the Spaniards, fell by their blows, or fled from their fury, the women every where flew to their embrace; rioted in their arms, and rendered them all the ſervices in their power.

To theſe fortunate occurrences may be added, the arrival

21. De Solis, lib. ii. Herrera, dec. ii.

of the ambassadors of Montezuma, who endeavoured, by presents, to engage the invaders to reimbark. The delay which this negociation produced was of infinite service to Cortez. An army, instead of an embassy, on his first landing, might have ruined him. He replied, by his female interpreter, who best understood the Mexican tongue, that he was only an ambassador himself, and, as such, could not depart without an audience of the emperor. This answer put the ambassadors of Montezuma to a stand. They reported it to the emperor. He was alarmed at the request. They redoubled their presents: they employed persuasions, but to no purpose. Cortez was inflexible. At last they had recourse to threats, according to their instructions, and talked loudly of the forces and treasures of their country. "These," said Cortez, turning to his companions, "these are what we seek; "great perils and great riches." Stronger motives could not have been offered to needy adventurers, burning with the spirit of chivalry and the lust of plunder. Their leader saw conquest in their looks; and having now received the necessary informations, and prepared himself against all hazards, he boldly marched toward the seat of the empire[22].

The Spanish general, however, though so little diffident of his own strength, prudently negociated with such princes and states as he found to be enemies of the Mexicans. Among these the most powerful was the republic of Tlascala. Cortez proposed an alliance to the senate. It divided upon the subject: but at last came to a resolution, not only to deny assistance to the Spaniards, but to oppose them. This resolution had almost proved fatal to Cortez and his enterprize. The Tlascalans were a brave people, and brought a formidable army into the field; but by the help of fire-arms, artillery, and cavalry, to these republicans above all things tremendous, the Spaniards, after repeated struggles, were enabled to

22. Herrera, dec. ii. De Solis, lib. iii. iv.

humble

humble them. They saw their mistake; entered into a treaty with Cortez, and were highly serviceable in his future operations.

The invaders now advanced without interruption to the gates of Mexico. Montezuma was all irresolution and terror. That mighty emperor, whose treasures were immense, and whose sway was absolute; who was lord over thirty princes, each of whom could bring a numerous army into the field, was so intimidated by the defeat of the Tlascalans, that he wanted resolution to strike a blow in defence of his dignity. The haughty potentate who had ordered Cortez to depart his coasts, introduced him into his capital. Instead of making use of force, he had recourse to perfidy. While he professed friendship to the Spanish general, he sent an army to attack the Spanish colony, newly settled at Vera Cruz, and yet in a feeble condition. Cortez received intelligence of this breach of faith, and took one of the boldest resolutions ever formed by man. He immediately proceeded to the imperial palace, accompanied by five of his principal officers, and arrested Montezuma as his prisoner; carried him off to the Spanish quarters; made him deliver to punishment the officer who had acted by his orders, and publicly acknowledge himself, in the seat of his power, the vassal of the king of Spain [23].

In the height of these successes Cortez was informed that a new general, sent by the governor of Cuba, was arrived with a superior force to supplant him in the command, and

A. D. 1520.

reap the fruits of his victories. He marched against his rival: he defeated him; he took him prisoner; and the vanquished army, gained by the magnanimity and confidence of the victor, ranged themselves under his standard. Thus reinforced, by an occurrence which threatened the extinction of his hopes, he returned with ra-

23. De Solis, lib. iv. Herrera, dec. ii.

pidity

pidity to the city of Mexico, where he found full occasion for this accession of strength.

The Mexicans were all in arms, and had surrounded the party, which Cortez had left to guard the emperor. This insurrection was occasioned by the avarice and intemperate zeal of the Spaniards; who, on a solemn festival in honour of the gods of the country, had massacred two thousand of the Mexican nobles, under pretence of a secret conspiracy, and stript them of their precious ornaments. The spirit of the people was roused: they were incensed at the confinement of their prince; they were filled with holy indignation at the insult offered to the gods, and they longed to revenge the fate of their nobility. Cortez found it difficult to resist their fury. They permitted him, however, to join his detachment, though not from motives of friendship or generosity: they hoped to involve the whole body of the Spaniards in one undistinguished ruin. "We have discovered," said they, "that you are not immortal; and although the death "of every Spaniard should cost us a thousand lives, we are "determined to complete your destruction. After so great "a slaughter, there will still remain a sufficient number to "celebrate the victory [24]."

In consequence of this resolution, the Mexicans attacked the Spanish quarters with incredible bravery. They were several times repulsed, and as often returned to the charge with undiminished ardour. They devoted themselves chearfully to death; boldly advanced in the face of the artillery, threw themselves in crowds upon the musquetry, and fearlessly grappled the mouths of the guns in attempting to ascend the fortifications. Montezuma judged this a favourable opportunity for obtaining his freedom and the departure of the Spaniards. On those conditions he consented to employ his good offices with his people. He shewed himself on the ramparts, clad in his royal robes, and endeavoured to induce

24. Id. Ibid.

the multitude to retire. They at firſt ſeemed over-awed by the preſence of their ſovereign, and ready to obey his commands; but ſuddenly recollecting the puſillanimity of his behaviour, their love was changed into hate, their veneration into contempt, and a ſtone, launched by an indignant arm, at once deprived Montezuma of the empire and his life[25].

That accident gave ſincere concern to Cortez, and was a real misfortune to the Spaniards. The ſucceſſor of Montezuma was a fierce and warlike prince, and reſolutely determined to ſupport the independency of his country. Cortez, after ſeveral ineffectual ſtruggles, found himſelf under the neceſſity of quitting the city. The Mexicans harraſſed him in his retreat; they took from him all his baggage and treaſure; and they engaged him in the field, before he had time to recruit his forces, with an army of two hundred thouſand men. The enſigns of various nations waved in the air, and the imperial ſtandard of maſſy gold was diſplayed. Now was the time for heroiſm; and ſtronger proofs of it were never exhibited than in the valley of Otumba. "Death or victory!" was the charge, and the reſolution of every Spaniard. The Mexicans were ſoon broken, and a terrible ſlaughter enſued; but freſh crowds ſtills preſſing on, ſupplied the place of the ſlain, and the Spaniards muſt have ſunk under the fatigue of continual fighting, had not Cortez, by a happy preſence of mind, put an end to the diſpute and rendered the victory deciſive. He ruſhed, at the head of his cavalry, towards the imperial ſtandard, cloſed with the Mexican general who guarded it, and at one ſtroke of his lance tumbled him out of his litter. The ſtandard was ſeized, and the conſequence proved as Cortez had expected: the Mexicans threw down their arms, and fled with precipitation and terror[26].

This victory, and the aſſiſtance of the Tlaſcalans, encouraged Cortez to undertake the ſiege of Mexico: and another

25. Herrera, dec. ii. lib. viii. De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xiv. xv.
26. De Solis, lib. iv. cap. xx.

 fortunate

fortunate circumſtance enabled him to complete his conqueſt. The new emperor Guatimozin was taken priſoner in attempting to make his eſcape out of his capital, in order to rouſe to arms the diſtant provinces of his dominions. The metropolis ſurrendered, and the whole empire ſubmitted to the Spaniards. A. D. 1521.

The city of Mexico is repreſented as one of the moſt ſtriking monuments of human grandeur. Its ſpacious ſquares, its ſumptuous palaces, its magnificent temples, are pompouſly diſplayed by the Spaniſh hiſtorians; but we muſt not give entire credit to thoſe ſplendid deſcriptions. The mechanical arts could not be carried to great perfection in a country where the uſe of iron was unknown; nor could the ſciences or liberal arts be cultivated with ſucceſs among a people ignorant of letters. The hieroglyphics, which the Mexicans are ſaid to have made uſe of for communicating their ideas, could but imperfectly anſwer that end, in compariſon of general ſymbols or ſigns; and without a facile method of recording paſt tranſactions, and of preſerving our own thoughts and thoſe of others, ſociety can never make any conſiderable progreſs. The ferocious religion of the Mexicans is another proof of their barbarity; for although we frequently find abſurd ceremonies prevail among poliſhed nations, we ſeldom or ever meet with thoſe that are cruel. Civilized man has a feeling for man. Human blood was profuſely ſpilt upon the altars of the Mexican gods: and, if we believe the moſt reſpectable Spaniſh hiſtorians, human fleſh (though only that of enemies) was greedily devoured both by the prieſts and the people. Enormous ſuperſtition and exceſſive deſpotiſm always go hand in hand. When the mind is enſlaved, it is eaſy to enſlave the body. Montezuma was the moſt abſolute ſovereign upon earth, and his ſubjects the moſt abject ſlaves.

The conqueſt of Mexico was followed by that of Peru, another country in the New World, abounding yet more in precious metals.

Peru had long been governed by a race of emperors, under the name of Incas, who were ſuppoſed to be the deſcendants of the Sun. The name of the Spaniſh invader was Pizarro, and that of the Inca in poſſeſſion of the crown, Atahualpa. Alarmed at the ravages of the Spaniards, this prince agreed to an interview with their general, in order to ſettle the conditions of a peace. Though Pizarro ſolicited the conference, he had no thoughts but of war. The Inca, it is ſaid, was not more ſincere in his profeſſions. He came to the place of meeting carried upon a throne of gold, and attended by upwards of ten thouſand men: twenty thouſand more are reported to have waited his ſignal; but for this report, or the inſincerity of the Inca, there ſeems to have been no foundation in fact. All the Peruvians were richly dreſſed, and their arms glittered with gold and precious ſtones. The avarice of the Spaniards was inflamed. Pizarro diſpoſed his followers, who did not exceed two hundred, in the moſt advantageous order, while Vincenti Valverde, a Dominican friar, advanced toward Atahualpa, with a crucifix in one hand and a breviary in the other. He addreſſed to the Inca, by the help of an interpreter, a long diſcourſe, unfolding the principles of the Chriſtian faith, and preſſing him to embrace that religion, and ſubmit himſelf to the king of Spain, to whom the pope had given Peru. Atahualpa, who had liſtened with a good deal of patience, replied thus to his pious admoniſher: "How extravagant is it in "the pope, to give away ſo liberally that which doth not be- "long to him!—He is inferior, you own, to God the Father, "to God the Son, and to God the Holy Ghoſt: theſe are all "your gods: and the gods only can diſpoſe of kingdoms. "I ſhould like to be a friend to the king of Spain, who has "ſufficiently diſplayed his power by ſending armies to ſuch "diſtant countries; but I will not be his vaſſal. I owe tri- "bute to no mortal prince: I know no ſuperior upon "earth. The religion of my anceſtors I venerate: and to

A. D. 1532.

"renounce

"renounce it would be equally abſurd and impious, until "you have convinced it is falſe, and that yours, which you "would have me embrace, is true.* You adore a god, "who died upon a gibbet; I worſhip the Sun, who never "dies."

"Vengeance!"—cried Valverde, turning towards the Spaniards;—"vengeance! my friends;—kill theſe dogs, who "deſpiſe the religion of the croſs [27]."

The word of command was given; the artillery played; the muſquetry fired; the cavalry ſpread confuſion and terror; while Pizarro advanced, at the head of a choſen band, and ſeized the perſon of the Inca. The ſlaughter was dreadful, and the pillage immenſe. The blow was final: Peru ceaſed to be an empire. The deſcendants of the Sun, who united in their perſon both the regal and pontifical dignity, ſunk under a ſet of banditti that knew not their birth. After draining Atahualpa of his treaſure, under pretence of a ranſom for his liberty, Pizarro condemned him to be burnt alive, as an obſtinate idolater. But through the mediation of father Valverde, bleſſed interceſſor! the Inca's ſentence was changed into ſtrangling, on condition that he ſhould die in the Chriſtian faith [28]! A. D. 1533.

The conqueſt of Mexico and Peru put the Spaniards at once in poſſeſſion of more ſpecie than all the other nations of Europe. Yet Spain from that æra has continued to decline. It has declined in population, induſtry, and vigour. The vices attendant upon riches have corrupted all ranks of men, and enervated the national ſpirit. From being the firſt kingdom in Europe, it is become one of the leſs conſiderable. Portugal has experienced a like fate, ſince the diſcovery of the paſſage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the ſettlement of Brazil: and from the ſame cauſe, a too great and ſudden influx of wealth.

27. Benzoni, *Hiſt. Nov. Orb.* lib. iii. Herrera, dec. iii. Zarete, lib. iii. Garcilaſſo, lib. i.

28. Id. Ibid.

These reflections naturally lead us to enquire, "How far "the discoveries of the Portuguese and Spaniards have been "advantageous to Europe, or beneficial to mankind?" The subject is complicated, and will best be illustrated by the sequel of events, and the ideas suggested by such a train of particulars. Meanwhile I shall observe, That writers in general are wrong in ascribing to those discoveries our present improvements in commerce and civilization. Commerce and civilization were fast advancing in Europe before the beginning of the sixteenth century; and this quarter of the globe would have been nearly in the situation in which we now find it, though no such discoveries had been made. We should not indeed have had so much specie, but we should have had less occasion for it: the price of labour would have been lower, and would have borne the same proportion to the price of provisions, which would have answered the purpose of a larger quantity of circulating money. Our resources in war would have been fewer; but our real strength might perhaps have been greater, as we should not have had occasion to colonize and combat at both extremities of the globe.

It must, however, be owned, That the passage by the Cape of Good Hope, in the first instance, has been of singular service to the general commerce of Europe. Our trade with India was formerly conducted by means of the Arabs, who, consequently, had a share in the profits: it is now entirely carried on by Europeans. European ships and European sailors import the commodities of the East into our harbours. But in balance of this advantage, the new passage, by being open to every nation, has increased the taste for Indian commodities, and whetted the avarice of man. It has made the nations of Europe massacre one another in the South of Asia, and rob and murder the industrious natives, without feeling or remorse; while it has hurt the European manufacturer, by furnishing foreign fabrics of superior quality, at a lower price than he can afford to sell. It has en-

couraged a loſing trade: for ſuch, in general, that with India muſt be accounted; a trade which continues to drain Europe of its bullion and ſpecie, the commodities of the Eaſt being chiefly purchaſed with gold and ſilver.

The mines of Mexico and Peru are neceſſary to ſupply that drain. So far the diſcovery of America muſt be accounted a good, or at leaſt the palliation of an evil. Beſides, the colonies eſtabliſhed on the continent, and in the iſlands of America, depend chiefly upon Europe for their manufactures, and furniſh an honeſt and comfortable maintenance to millions of our people, who muſt otherwiſe have wanted bread, or have lived in the loweſt ſtate of wretchedneſs. In this view, America is favourable both to induſtry and population. Theſe are ſolid advantages, and the ſuperabundance of the precious metals alone could make Spain and Portugal overlook them. They are poor amid their treaſures; while other nations, profiting by their indolence, grow wealthy by ſupplying their wants. The labour of a people is the only deſirable ſource of their riches, and the only certain road to their felicity; though mankind, in general, are ſo ignorant as to ſuppoſe, that they ſhould be happier without toil.

The diſcovery of America has increaſed the labour of Europe, and conſequently its happineſs, collectively conſidered. It has alſo increaſed the number of the civilized part of the human ſpecies, by opening a boundleſs region for the planting of European colonies; which have greatly flouriſhed in many parts, and ſupplied the inhabitants of the mother-countries with a variety of commodities, formerly unknown, that contribute to the more comfortable enjoyment of life, and to the extenſion of trade. But the violent means by which thoſe colonies were generally eſtabliſhed, and the outrages which continue to be exerciſed againſt the injured natives as often as they attempt to reinſtate themſelves in their original rights, together with the brutal ſlavery to which another race of men are condemned, in order to cultivate the lands ſo unjuſtly ſeized and held, are circumſtances over which

which humanity muſt ever mourn, and which the heart of every lover of his ſpecies will tell him no commercial, no political motives can authoriſe or vindicate.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the line of general hiſtory, and enter upon that important æra, when all the great powers, on the European continent, made a trial of their ſtrength in Italy; when religion united wtth ambition to give new energy to the ſword; when creeds, no leſs than kingdoms, became the ſource of war, and fire and faggot were employed to enforce human belief.

LETTER LVIII.

A general View of the Affairs of EUROPE *from the Election of* CHARLES V. *in* 1519, *till the Peace of* CAMBRAY, *in* 1529, *including the Progreſs of the Reformation.*

THOUGH Maximilian could not prevail upon the German electors to chuſe his grandſon of Spain king of the Romans, he had diſpoſed their minds in favour of that prince: and other circumſtances, on the death of the emperor, conſpired to the exaltation of Charles. The imperial crown had ſo long continued in the Auſtrian line, that it began to be conſidered as hereditary in that family; and Germany, torn by religious diſputes, ſtood in need of a powerful emperor, not only to preſerve its own internal tranquillity, but alſo to protect it againſt the victorious arms of the Turks, who, under Selim I. threatened the liberties of Europe. This fierce and rapid conqueror had already ſubdued the Mamalukes, a barbarous militia that had diſmembered the empire of the Arabs, and made themſelves maſters of Egypt and Syria. The power of Charles appeared neceſſary to oppoſe that of Selim. The extenſive dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, which gave him an in-

A. D. 1519.

tereſt

tereſt in the preſervation of Germany; the rich ſovereignty of the Netherlands and Franche-Comté; the entire poſſeſſion of the great and warlike kingdom of Spain, together with that of Naples and Sicily, all united to hold him up to the firſt dignity among Chriſtian princes: and the New World ſeemed only to be called into exiſtence, that its treaſures might enable him to defend Chriſtendom againſt the Infidels. Such was the language of his partizans.

Francis I. however, no ſooner received intelligence of the death of Maximilian than he declared himſelf a candidate for the empire; and with no leſs confidence of ſucceſs than Charles. He truſted to his ſuperior years and experience, with his great reputation in arms, acquired by the victory at Marignan, and the conqueſt of Milan. And it was further urged in his favour, that the impetuoſity of the French cavalry, added to the firmneſs of the German infantry, would prove irreſiſtible; and not only be ſufficient, under a warlike emperor, to ſet limits to the ambition of Selim, but to break entirely the Ottoman power, and prevent it from ever becoming dangerous again to Germany.

Both claims were plauſible. The dominions of Francis were leſs extenſive, but more united than thoſe of Charles. His ſubjects were numerous, active, brave, lovers of glory and lovers of their king. Theſe were ſtrong arguments in favour of his power, ſo neceſſary at this juncture; but he had no natural intereſt in the Germanic body: and the electors, hearing ſo much of military force on each ſide, became more alarmed for their own privileges than the common ſafety. They determined to reject both candidates, and offered the imperial crown to Frederic, ſurnamed the Wiſe, duke of Saxony. But he, undazzled by the ſplendour of an object courted with ſo much eagerneſs by two mighty monarchs, rejected it with a magnanimity no leſs ſingular than great.

"In times of tranquillity," ſaid Frederic, "we wiſh for "an emperor who has no power to invade our liberties;

4 "times

"times of danger demand one, who is able to ſecure our "ſafety. The Turkiſh armies, led by a warlike and victo- "rious monarch, are now aſſembling: they are ready to "pour in upon Germany with a violence unknown in "former ages. New conjunctures call for new expedients. "The imperial ſceptre muſt be committed to ſome hand "more powerful than mine, or that of any other German "prince. We poſſeſs neither dominions, nor revenues, nor "authority, which enable us to encounter ſuch a formidable "enemy. Recourſe muſt be had, in this exigency, to one "of the rival monarchs. Each of them can bring into the "field forces ſufficient for our defence. But as the king of "Spain is of German extraction, as he is a member and "prince of the empire by the territories which deſcend to "him from his grandfather, and as his dominions ſtretch "along that frontier which lies moſt expoſed to the enemy, "his claim, in my opinion, is preferable to that of a ſtranger "to our language, to our blood, and to our country [1]." Charles was elected in conſequence of this ſpeech.

The two candidates had hitherto conducted their rivalſhip with emulation, but without enmity. They had even ſoftened their competition by many expreſſions of friendſhip and regard. Francis in particular declared, with his uſual vivacity, that his brother Charles and he were fairly and openly ſuitors to the ſame miſtreſs: "The moſt aſſiduous and fortu- "nate," added he, "will win her; and the other muſt reſt "contented [2]." But although a generous and high-minded prince, while animated by the hope of ſucceſs, might be capable of forming ſuch a philoſophic reſolution, it ſoon appeared that he had promiſed a moderation too refined for humanity, and which he was little able to practiſe. The preference was no ſooner given to his rival than Francis diſcovered all the paſſions natural to diſappointed ambition.

1. Scard. *Rer. Germ. Script.* Seckend. *Comment.* Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book i.

2. Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

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He could not ſuppreſs his chagrin and indignation, at being baulked in his favourite purpoſe, and rejected in the face of all Europe, for a youth yet unknown to fame. The ſpirit of Charles reſented ſuch contempt: and from this jealouſy, as much as from oppoſition of intereſts, aroſe that emulation between thoſe two great monarchs, which involved them in almoſt perpetual hoſtilities, and kept their whole age in agitation.

When princes or private perſons are reſolved to quarrel, it is eaſy to find a brand of diſcord. Charles and Francis had many interfering claims in Italy; and, beſide theſe obvious ſources of contention and competition, the latter thought himſelf bound in honour to reſtore the king of Navarre to his dominions, unjuſtly ſeized by the crown of Spain. They immediately began to negociate; and as Henry VIII. of England was the third prince of the age in power and in dignity, his friendſhip was eagerly courted by each of the rivals. He was the natural guardian of the liberties of Europe. Senſible of the conſequence which his ſituation gave him, and proud of his pre-eminence, Henry knew it to be his intereſt to keep the balance even between the contending powers, and to reſtrain both, by not joining conſtantly with either. But he was ſeldom able to reduce his ideas to practice: he was governed by caprice more than by principle: the paſſions of the man were ever an over-match for the maxims of the king. Vanity and reſentment were the great ſprings of all his actions; and his neighbours, by touching theſe, found an eaſy way to draw him into their meaſures.

All the impolitic ſteps in Henry's government, however, muſt not be imputed to himſelf: many of them were occaſioned by the ambition and avarice of his prime miniſter and favourite, cardinal Wolſey. This man, who, by his talents and accompliſhments, had riſen from one of the loweſt conditions in life to the higheſt employments both in church and ſtate, and who lived with regal ſplendour, governed the haughty, preſumptuous, and intractable ſpirit of Henry with abſolute

absolute ascendancy. Equally rapacious and profuse, he was insatiable in desiring wealth; vain and ostentatious, he was greedy of adulation; of boundless ambition, he aspired after new honours with an eagerness unabated by his former success. To these passions he himself sacrificed every consideration, divine and human; and whoever sought to obtain his favour, or that of his master, found it necessary also to sacrifice liberally to them.

Francis was equally well acquainted with the character of Henry and of his minister. He had successfully flattered Wolsey's pride, by honouring him with particular marks of his confidence, and bestowing upon him the appellations of Father, Tutor, and Governor; and he had obtained the restitution of Tournay, by adding a pension to these respectful titles. He now solicited an interview with the king of England near Calais; in hopes of being able, by familiar conversation, to attach him to his friendship and interest, while he gratified the cardinal's vanity, by affording him an opportunity of displaying his magnificence in the presence of two courts, and of discovering to the two nations his influence over their monarchs.

A. D. 1520.

Politic though young, Charles dreaded the effects of this projected interview between two gallant princes, whose hearts were no less susceptible of friendship than their manners were of inspiring it. Finding it impossible, however, to prevent a visit, in which the vanity of all parties was so much concerned, he endeavoured to defeat its purpose, and to pre-occupy the favour of the English monarch, and of his minister, by an act of complaisance still more flattering and more uncommon. Relying wholly upon Henry's generosity for his safety, he landed at Dover, in his way from Spain to the Low Countries. The king of England, who was on his way to France, charmed with such an instance of confidence, hastened to receive his royal guest; and Charles, during his short stay, had the address not only to give Henry favourable impressions of his character and in-

tentions,

tentions, but to detach Wolsey entirely from the interests of Francis. The tiara had attracted the eye of that ambitious prelate; and as the emperor knew that the papacy was the sole point of elevation, beyond his present greatness, at which he could aspire, he made him an offer of his interest on the first vacancy [3].

On the day of Charles's daparture, Henry went over to Calais with his whole court, in order to meet Francis. Their interview was in an open plain between Guisnes and Ardres; where the two kings and their attendants displayed their magnificence with such emulation and profuse expence, as procured it the name of the *Field of the Cloth of Gold.* Here Henry erected a spacious house of wood and canvas, framed in London, on which, under the figure of an English archer, was inscribed the following motto: "He prevails whom I favour!" alluding to his own political situation, as holding in his hands the balance of power between the emperor and French monarch. Feats of chivalry, however, parties of gallantry, and such exercises as were in that age reckoned manly or elegant, rather than serious business, occupied the two courts during the time they continued together, which was eighteen days. And here I cannot help noticing a circumstance that strongly marks the manners of those times, and their contrast to ours, if not their comparative rusticity. After the French and English wrestlers had exercised their strength and agility, which, according to the phrase of the historian, afforded *excellent pastime*, the kings of France and England, says Fleuranges, retired to a tent, where they drank together; and the king of England seizing the king of France by the collar, said, "My brother, I "must wrestle with you!" and attempted once or twice to *trip up his heels*; but the king of France, who was *an excellent wrestler*, twisted him round, and threw him on the

3. Polyd. Virg. Holingshed. Herbert, *Hist. Hen. VIII.* Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*.

ground

ground with great violence. Henry wanted to renew the ſtruggle, but was prevented [4].

After taking leave of this ſcene of diſſipation, the king of England paid a viſit to the emperor and Margaret of Savoy at Gravelines, and engaged them to go along with him to Calais; where the artful and politic Charles completed the impreſſion which he had begun to make on Henry and his favourite, and effaced all the friendſhip to which the frank and generous nature of Francis had given birth. He renewed his aſſurances of aſſiſting Wolſey in obtaining the papacy; and he put him in preſent poſſeſſion of the revenues of the ſees of Badajox and Palencia, in Spain. He flattered Henry's pride, by convincing him of his own importance, and of the juſtneſs of the motto which he had choſen; offering to ſubmit to his ſole arbitration, any difference that might ariſe between him and Francis [5].

This important point being ſecured, Charles repaired to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was ſolemnly inveſted with the crown and ſceptre of Charlemagne, in preſence of a more ſplendid and numerous aſſembly than had appeared on any former inauguration. About the ſame time Solyman II. ſurnamed the Magnificent, one of the moſt accompliſhed, enterpriſing, and warlike of the Turkiſh princes, and a conſtant and formidable rival of the German emperor, aſcended the Ottoman throne, in conſequence of the death of Selim.

The firſt act of Charles's adminiſtration was the appointing a diet to be held at Worms, in order to concert with the princes of the empire proper meaſures for checking the progreſs of "thoſe new and dangerous opinions, which threatened to diſturb the peace of Germany, and to overturn the religion of their anceſtors." The opinions propagated by Luther and his followers were here meant. That bold innovator, after the diet at Augſburg, and the death of

4. *Mem. de Fleuranges.*

5. Polyd. Virg. Fiddes, ubi ſup.

Maxi-

Maximilian, had freely promulgated his opinions, under the protection of the Elector of Saxony, to whom the vicariate of that part of Germany which is governed by the Saxon laws was committed, during the interregnum that preceded the election of Charles V. And these opinions were suffered to take root in different places, and to grow up to some degree of strength and firmness. But Leo X. though little skilled in such controversies, came at last to be alarmed at Luther's progress; and, convinced that all hopes of reclaiming him by forbearance were in vain, issued a bull of excommunication against him. His books were ordered to be burnt, and he himself was delivered over to Satan, as an obstinate heretic, if he did not, within sixty days, publicly recant his errors.

This sentence neither disconcerted or intimidated Luther. After renewing his appeal to a general council, he published remarks upon the bull of excommunication, and boldly declared the pope to be the Man of Sin, or Antichrist, whose appearance is foretold in the Revelations of St. John; declaimed against the tyranny and usurpations of the court of Rome with greater vehemence than ever, exhorted all Christian princes to shake off such an ignominious yoke, and boasted of his own happiness in being marked out as the object of ecclesiastical indignation, because he had ventured to assert the rights of religion, and the mental liberty of mankind. Nor did he confine his contempt of the papal power to words alone. He assembled all the professors and students of the university of Wittemberg, and with great pomp, and before a vast multitude of spectators, cast the volumes of the canon law, together with the bull of excommunication, into the flames: and his example was imitated in several other cities [6].

While the credit and authority of the Roman pontiff were thus furiously shaken in Germany, an attack no less violent,

6. Seckend. *Comment.* Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii.

and occasioned by the same causes, was made upon them in Switzerland. The Franciscans being entrusted with the sale of indulgences in that country, executed their commission with the same unblushing rapaciousness which had rendered the Dominicans so odious in Saxony. They proceeded, however, with uninterrupted success till they arrived at Zurich; where they received a mortal blow from Zuinglius, canon of that place, a man of extensive learning, uncommon sagacity, and heroic intrepidity of spirit. Animated with a republican boldness, and free from those restraints which subjection to the will of a prince, and perhaps a remnant of original prejudice, imposed upon the German reformer, he advanced with more daring and rapid steps to overturn the whole fabric of the established religion; and the pope's supremacy was soon denied in the greater part of Switzerland[7].

Such was the state of the Reformation, when Charles V. arrived in Germany. No secular prince had yet embraced the new opinions; no change in the established forms of worship had been introduced, nor any encroachments made upon the possessions or jurisdiction of the clergy: a deep impression, however, was made upon the minds of the people; their reverence for ancient institutions and doctrines was shaken; and the materials were already scattered, which produced the conflagration that afterwards spread over all Europe. Charles saw the flames gathering; and, as he found it necessary to secure the friendship of Leo X. he cited Luther to appear before the diet at Worms. Luther

A. D. 1521.

did not hesitate a moment about yielding obedience: he accompanied the herald who brought the emperor's letter and safe-conduct. "I am lawfully called to appear in "that city," said he to some of his friends, who were anxious for his safety; "and thither I will go in the name of

7. Ruchart. *Hist. de la Reformat. en Swiss.* liv. i.

"the

"the Lord, though as many devils as tiles upon the houses "were there assembled against me[8]."

Had vanity and the love of applause, from which no human heart is free, been the sole principles by which Luther was influenced, his reception at Worms was such as he might have reckoned a full reward for all his labours. Vast crowds assembled to see him whenever he walked abroad; and his apartments were daily filled with princes and personages of the highest rank, who treated him with all the respect that is due to superior merit, but which is more particularly commanded by those who possess the power of directing the understanding and the sentiments of others. Rank or birth can receive no homage so flattering; for they can receive none so sincere, or which has so immediate a reference to those qualities, which men call their own. Luther was not, however, intoxicated: he behaved before the diet with equal decency and firmness. He readily acknowledged an excess of vehemence and acrimony in his controversial writings; but he refused to retract his opinions, till convinced of their falshood, or consent to their being tried by any other standard than the scripture. Neither threats nor intreaties could prevail on him to depart from this resolution. Some of the fathers therefore proposed to imitate the example of the council of Constance, in its proceedings relative to John Huss; to commit to the flames the author of this pestilent heresy, now in their power, and deliver the church at once from so dangerous an enemy: but the members of the diet refusing to expose the German integrity to fresh reproach by a second violation of public faith, and Charles being no less unwilling to bring a stain upon the beginning of his administration by such an ignominious measure, Luther was permitted to depart in safety[9]. A few days after he left the city, a severe edict was issued in the emperor's name, and by authority of the diet, forbidding

8. Luth. *Oper.* vol. ii.   9. F. Paul. Seckend.

any prince to harbour him, and requiring all to concur in ſeizing his perſon as ſoon as his ſafe-conduct was expired. But the elector of Saxony, his faithful patron, took him again, though ſecretly, under protection. Luther, in ſolitude, propagated his opinions; and Charles, for a time, found other matters to engage his attention.

The Spaniards, who were diſſatiſfied with the departure of their ſovereign, whoſe election to the empire they foreſaw would interfere with the adminiſtration of his own kingdom, and incenſed at the avarice of the Flemings, to whom the direction of public affairs had been committed ſince the death of cardinal Ximenes, broke out into open rebellion. Several grandees, in order to ſhake off that oppreſſion, entered into an aſſociation, to which they gave the name of the Sancta Juncta: and the ſword was appealed to, as the means of redreſs. This ſeemed, to Francis, a favourable juncture for reinſtating the family of John d'Albret, in the kingdom of Navarre. Charles was at a diſtance from that part of his dominions, and the troops uſually ſtationed there had been recalled to quell the commotions in Spain. A French army, under Andrew de Foix, ſpeedily conquered Navarre; but that young and inexperienced nobleman, dazzled with ſucceſs, and puſhed on by military ardour, ventured to enter Caſtile. Though divided among themſelves, the Spaniards united againſt a foreign enemy; routed his forces, took him priſoner, and recovered Navarre in a ſhorter time than he had ſpent in ſubduing it.

Hoſtilities thus begun in one quarter, between the rival monarchs, rapidly ſpread to another. The king of France encouraged the duke of Bouillon to make war upon the emperor, and invade Luxembourg. Charles, after humbling the duke, attempted to enter France, but was repelled and worſted before Mezieres, by the famous chevalier de Bayard; diſtinguiſhed among his contemporaries by the appellation of *The Knight without fear and without reproach*, and who united the talents of a conſummate general to the punctilious

honour

honour and romantic gallantry of the heroes of chivalry. Francis broke into the Low Countries; where, by an excefs of caution, an error not natural to him, he loft an opportunity of cutting off the whole imperial army; and, what was ftill greater mifconduct, he difgufted the conftable Bourbon, by giving the command of the van to the duke of Alençon [10].

During thefe operations in the field, an unfuccefsful congrefs was held at Calais, under the mediation of Henry VIII. It ferved only to exafperate the parties it was intended to reconcile. And a league was foon after concluded at Bruges, through the intrigues of Wolfey, between the pope, Henry, and Charles, againft France. Leo had already entered into a feparate league with the emperor, and the French were faft lofing ground in Italy [11].

The infolence and exactions of marechal de Lautrec, governor of Milan, had totally alienated the affections of the Milanefe from France. They refolved to expel the troops of that nation, and put themfelves under the government of Francis Sforza, brother of Maximilian their late duke. In this refolution they were encouraged by the pope, who excommunicated Lautrec, and took into his pay a confiderable body of Swifs. The papal army, commanded by Profper Colonna, an experienced general, was joined by reinforcements from Germany and Naples; while Lautrec, neglected by his court, and deferted by the Swifs in its pay, was unable to make head againft the enemy. The city of Milan was betrayed by the inhabitants to the confederates; Parma and Placentia were united to the ecclefiaftical ftate: and of their conquefts in Lombardy, only the town of Cremona, the caftle of Milan, and a few inconfiderable forts remained in the hands of the French [12].

10. *Oeuvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi. *Mem. de Bellay.*
11. Rymer, *Fœd.* vol. xiii. Herbert, *Hift. Hen. VIII.*
12. Guicciardini, lib. xiv. *Mem. de Bellay.*

Leo X. received the account of his rapid ſucceſs with ſuch tranſports of joy, as are ſaid to have brought on a fever, which occaſioned his death. The ſpirit of the confederacy was broken, and its operations ſuſpended by that event. The Swiſs were recalled: ſome other mercenaries were diſbanded for want of pay: ſo that the Spaniards, and a few Germans in the emperor's ſervice, only remained to defend the duchy of Milan. But Lautrec, who, with the remnant of his army, had taken ſhelter in the Venetian territories, deſtitute of both men and money, was unable to improve this favourable opportunity. All his efforts were rendered ineffectual by the vigilance and ability of Colonna and his aſſociates.

Meantime high diſcord prevailed in the conclave. Wolſey's name, notwithſtanding all the emperor's magnificent promiſes, was ſcarcely mentioned there. Julio of Medicis Leo's nephew, thought himſelf ſure of the election; when by an unexpected turn of fortune, Cardinal Adrian of Utrecht, Charles's preceptor, who at that time governed Spain in the character of viceroy, was unanimouſly raiſed to the papacy, to the aſtoniſhment of all Europe, and the great diſguſt of the Italians.

A. D. 1522.

Francis, rouſed by the riſing conſequence of his rival, reſolved to exert himſelf with freſh vigour, in order to wreſt from him his late conqueſts in Lombardy. Lautrec received a ſupply of money, and a recruit of ten thouſand Swiſs infantry. With this reinforcement he was enabled once more to act offenſively, and even to advance within a few miles of the city of Milan; when money again failing him, and the Swiſs growing mutinous, he was obliged to attack the Imperialiſts in their camp at Bicocca, where he was repulſed with great ſlaughter, having loſt his braveſt officers and beſt troops. All the Swiſs that ſurvived immediately ſet out for their own country; and Lautrec deſpairing of being able to keep the field, retired into France. Genoa, which ſtill remained ſubject to Francis, and which made it eaſy for him to execute any ſcheme for the recovery of Milan, was ſoon after

after taken by Colonna: the authority of the emperor and his faction was every where eſtabliſhed in Italy. The citadel of Cremona was the ſole fortreſs that remained in the hands of the French [13].

The affliction of Francis, for ſuch a ſucceſſion of misfortunes, was augmented by the unexpected arrival of an Engliſh herald, who, in the name of his ſovereign, declared war againſt France. The courage of this high-ſpirited prince, however, did not forſake him. Though his treaſury was exhauſted by expenſive pleaſures no leſs than by hoſtile enterprizes, he aſſembled a conſiderable army, and put his kingdom in a poſture for reſiſting his new enemy, without abandoning any of the ſchemes which he was forming againſt the emperor. He was ſurpriſed, but not alarmed at ſuch a denunciation.

Willing to derive as much advantage as poſſible from ſo powerful an ally, Charles paid a ſecond viſit to the court of England in his way to Spain, where his preſence was become highly neceſſary. And his ſucceſs here exceeded his moſt ſanguine expectations. He not only gained the entire friendſhip of Henry, who publicly ratified the treaty of Bruges, but diſarmed the reſentment of Wolſey, by aſſuring him of the papacy on Adrian's death; an event ſeemingly not diſtant, by reaſon of his age and infirmities. In conſequence of theſe negociations an Engliſh army invaded France, under the command of the earl of Surrey; who, at the cloſe of the campaign, was obliged to retire with his forces greatly diminiſhed, without being able to make himſelf maſter of one place within the French frontier. Charles was more fortunate than his ally. He ſoon quelled the tumults that had ariſen in Spain during his abſence.

While the Chriſtian princes were thus waſting each other's ſtrength, Solyman the Magnificent entered Hungary, and made himſelf maſter of Belgrade, reckoned the chief

13. Guicciardini, ubi ſup.

barrier of that kingdom againſt the Turkiſh power. Encouraged by this ſucceſs, he turned his victorious arms againſt the iſland of Rhodes, then the ſeat of the knights of St. John of Jeruſalem; and although every prince in that warlike age acknowledged Rhodes to be the principal bulwark of Chriſtendom in the Levant, ſo violent was their animoſity againſt each other, that they ſuffered Solyman without diſturbance to carry on his operations againſt that city and iſland. Liſle Adam, the grand-maſter, made a gallant defence; but, after incredible efforts of courage, patience, and military ſkill, during a ſiege of ſix months, he was obliged to ſurrender the place, having obtained an honourable capitulation from the ſultan, who admired and reſpected his heroic qualities[14]. Charles and Francis were equally aſhamed of having occaſioned, through their conteſts, ſuch a loſs to the Chriſtian world; and the emperor, by way of reparation, granted to the knights of St. John the ſmall iſland of Malta, where they fixed their reſidence, and continue ſtill to retain their ancient ſpirit, though much reduced in power and ſplendour.

Adrian VI. though the creature of the emperor, and devoted to his intereſt, endeavoured to aſſume the impartiality which became the common father of Chriſtendom, and laboured to reconcile the contending princes, that they might unite in a league againſt Solyman, whoſe conqueſt of Rhodes rendered him more formidable than ever to Europe. The Italian ſtates were no leſs deſirous of peace than the pope: and ſo much regard was paid by the hoſtile powers to the exhortations of his Holineſs, and to a bull, which he iſſued, requiring all Chriſtian princes to conſent to a truce for three years, that the imperial, the French, and the Engliſh ambaſſadors at Rome, were impowered to treat of that matter. But while they waſted their time in fruitleſs negociations, their maſters were continuing their preparations for war;

14. Fontan. *de Bell. Rhod.* Barre, *Hiſt. d'Allemag.* tom. viii.

and

and other negociations foon took place. The confederacy againft France became more formidable than ever.

The Venetians, who had hitherto adhered to the French intereft, formed engagements with the emperor for fecuring Francis Sforza in the poffeffion of the duchy of Milan; and the pope, from a perfuafion that the ambition of the French monarch was the only obftacle to peace, acceded to the fame alliance. The Florentines, the dukes of Ferrara and Mantua, with all the other Italian powers, followed this example. Francis was left without a fingle ally to refift the efforts of a multitude of enemies, whofe armies every where threatened, and whofe territories encompaffed his dominions. The emperor in perfon, at the head of a Spanifh army, menaced France on the fide of Guienne: the forces of England and the Netherlands hovered over Picardy, and a numerous body of Germans was preparing to ravage Burgundy [15]. A. D. 1523.

The dread of fo many and fuch powerful adverfaries, it was thought would have obliged Francis to keep wholly on the defenfive, or at leaft have prevented him from entertaining any thoughts of marching into Italy. But it was the peculiar characteriftic of this prince, too apt to become negligent on ordinary occafions, to roufe at the approach of imminent danger, and not only to encounter it with fpirit and intrepidity, but to provide againft it with diligence and induftry. Before his enemies were able to ftrike a blow, Francis had affembled a powerful army, with which he hoped to difconcert all the emperor's fchemes, by leading it in perfon into Italy: and this bold meafure could fcarcely have failed of the defired effect, had it been immediately carried into execution. But the difcovery of a domeftic confpiracy, which threatened the deftruction of his kingdom, obliged Francis to ftop fhort at Lyons.

Charles duke of Bourbon, high conftable of France, was

15. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

a prince of the most shining talents. His great abilities equally fitted him for the council or the field, while his eminent services to the crown entitled him to its first favour. But unhappily Louisa duchess of Angoulême, the king's mother, had contracted a violent aversion against the house of Bourbon, and had taught her son, over whom she had acquired an absolute ascendant, to view all the constable's actions with a jealous eye. After repeated affronts he retired from court, and began to listen to the advances of the emperor's ministers. Meantime the duchess of Bourbon happened to die; and as the constable was no less handsome than accomplished, the duchess of Angoulême, still susceptible of the tender passions, formed the scheme of marrying him. But Bourbon, who might have expected every thing to which an ambitious mind can aspire, from the doating fondness of a woman who governed her son and the kingdom, incapable of imitating Louisa in her sudden transition from love to hate, or of meanly counterfeiting a passion for one who had so long pursued him with unprovoked malice, treated the proposal with disdain, and even turned it into ridicule. At once refused and insulted by the man whom love only could have made her cease to persecute, Louisa was filled with all the rage of disappointed woman: she resolved to ruin, since she could not marry Bourbon. For this purpose she commenced an iniquitous suit against him; and by the chicanery of chancellor Du Prat, the constable was stript of his whole family estate. Driven to despair by so many injuries, he had recourse to measures which despair only could have dictated. He entered into a secret correspondence with the emperor and the king of England; and he proposed, as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps, to raise an insurrection among his numerous vassals, and to introduce foreign troops into the heart of France[16].

Happily Francis got intimation of this conspiracy before

16. Thuanus, lib. i. cap. ii. *Mem. de Bellay*, liv. ii.

he

he left the kingdom. But not being ſufficiently convinced of the conſtable's guilt, he ſuffered ſo dangerous an enemy to eſcape; and Bourbon, entering into the emperor's ſervice, employed all the reſources of his enterpriſing genius, and his military ſkill, to the prejudice of his ſovereign and his native country. He took a ſevere revenge for all his wrongs.

In conſequence of the diſcovery of this plot, and the eſcape of the powerful conſpirator, Francis relinquiſhed his intention of leading his army in perſon into Italy. He was ignorant how far the infection had ſpread among his ſubjects, and afraid that his abſence mght encourage them to make ſome deſperate attack in favour of a man ſo much beloved. He did not, however, abandon his deſign on the duchy of Milan; but ſent forward, in order to ſubdue it, an army of thirty thouſand men, under the command of admiral Bonnivet. Colonna, who was entruſted with the defence of that duchy, was in no condition to reſiſt ſuch a force; and the city of Milan, on which the whole territory depends, muſt have fallen into the hands of the French, had not Bonnivet, who poſſeſſed none of the talents of a general, waſted his time in frivolous enterprizes, till the inhabitants recovered from their conſternation. The imperial army was reinforced. Colonna died, and Lannoy, viceroy of Naples, ſucceeded him in the command. But the military operations were chiefly conducted by the duke of Bourbon and the marquis de Peſcara, the two greateſt generals of their age. Bonnivet, deſtitute of the talents neceſſary to oppoſe ſuch able commanders, was reduced, after various movements and encounters, to the neceſſity of attempting a retreat into France. He was purſued by the imperial generals, and routed at Biagraſſa.

A. D. 1524.

Here fell the chevalier Bayard, whoſe contempt of the arts of courts prevented him from ever riſing to the chief command, but who was always called, in times of real danger, to the poſts of difficulty and importance. Bonnivet being wounded, the conduct of the rear was committed to Bayard.

He put himſelf at the head of the heavy armed cavalry, and animating them by his preſence and example, to ſuſtain the whole ſhock of the imperial army, he gained time for the body of his countrymen to make good their retreat. But in that ſervice he received a mortal wound; and being unable any longer to continue on horſeback, he ordered one of his attendants to place him under a tree, where he calmly waited the approach of death. In this ſituation he was found by Bourbon, who led the van of the Imperialiſts, and expreſſed much ſorrow for his fate. "Pity not me!" cried the high-minded chevalier: "I die, as a man of honour ought, in the "diſcharge of my duty; but pity thoſe who fight againſt "their king, their country, and their oath[17]."

The emperor and his allies were leſs ſucceſsful in their operations on the frontiers of France. They were baffled on all ſides. And Francis, though ſtript of his Italian dominions, might ſtill have enjoyed in ſafety, the glory of having defended his native kingdom againſt one half of Europe, and have bid defiance to all his enemies, could he have moderated his military ardour. But underſtanding that the king of England, diſcouraged by his former fruitleſs enterprizes, and diſguſted with the emperor, was making no preparations for invading Picardy, his rage for the conqueſt of Milan returned; and he determined, notwithſtanding the approach of winter, to march into Italy.

The French army no ſooner appeared in Piedmont, than the whole duchy of Milan was thrown into conſternation. The capital opened its gates. The forces of the emperor and Sforza retired to Lodi: and had Francis been ſo fortunate as to purſue them, they muſt have abandoned that poſt,
Oct. 28. and been totally diſperſed. But his evil genius led him to beſiege Pavia, a town of conſiderable ſtrength, well garriſoned, and defended by Antonio de Leyva, one of the braveſt officers in the Spaniſh ſervice. Every thing

17. *Mem. de Bellay*, ubi ſup. *Oeuvr. de Brantome*, tom. vi.

known

known to the engineers of that age, or which could be effected by the valour of his troops, was attempted in vain by the French monarch against this important place, during a siege of three months. In the meantime, confident of success, he had detached a considerable part of his army to invade the kingdom of Naples: and the main body was much wasted by the fatigues of the siege and the rigour of the season. The imperial generals had not hitherto molested him, but they were not idle. Pescara and Lannoy had assembled forces from all quarters; and Bourbon, having pawned his jewels, had gone into Germany, and levied at his own expence a body of twelve thousand Lansquenets. A. D. 1525. The united army advanced to the relief of Pavia, Feb. 3. now reduced to extremity for want of ammunition and provisions. Prudence and the advice of his most experienced officers, dictated to Francis the propriety of a retreat; but his own romantic notions of honour, and the opinion of Bonnivet, unhappily determined him to keep his post. Having said that he would take Pavia or perish in the attempt, he thought it ignominious to depart from that resolution; and he anxiously waited the approach of the enemy.

The imperial generals found the French so strongly entrenched, that they hesitated long before they ventured to attack them. But the necessities of the besieged, and the murmurs of their own troops, obliged them at last to put every thing to hazard. Never did armies engage with greater ardour, or with a higher opinion of the battle they were going to fight; never were men more strongly animated with Feb. 24. personal emulation, national antipathy, mutual resentment, and all the passions which inspire obstinate bravery. The first efforts of the French valour made the firmest battalions of the Imperialists give ground; but the fortune of the day was soon changed. The Swiss troops in the service of France, unmindful of their national honour, shamefully deserted their post. Pescara fell upon the French cavalry with the imperial horse, and broke that formidable body, by a mode of attack

attack with which they were wholly unacquainted [18]; while Leyva fallying out with his garrifon, during the heat of action, made a furious affault on the enemy's rear, and threw every thing into confufion. The rout became general. But Francis himfelf furrounded by a brave nobility, many of whom fell by his fide, long fuftained the combat. His horfe being killed under him, he fought on foot, undiftinguifhed but by his valour, and killed feven men with his own hand. At laft he was obferved by Pomperant, a French gentleman, who had followed the fortunes of Bourbon, and who now faved the life of his fovereign, ready to fink beneath an enraged foldiery. By his perfuafion Francis was prevailed upon to furrender; yet he obftinately refufed, imminent as the danger was, to deliver up his fword to Bourbon. Lannoy received it. But Bourbon had the cruel fatisfaction of exulting over his fovereign's diftrefs, and of repaying, from revenge, the infults offered by jealoufy [19].

This victory, and the captivity of Francis, filled all Europe with alarm. Almoft the whole French army was cut off: Milan was immediately abandoned; and in a few weeks, not a Frenchman was left in Italy. The power of the emperor, and ftill more his ambition, became the object of univerfal terror: and refolutions were every where taken to fet bounds to it. Meanwhile Francis, deeply impreffed with a fenfe of his fortune, wrote to his mother Louifa, whom he had left regent of the kingdom, the following fhort but expreffive letter: "All is loft, but honour!"

The fame courier that delivered this letter, carried alfo difpatches to Charles, who received the news of the fignal and unexpected fuccefs which had crowned his arms, with the moft hypocritical moderation. He would not fuffer any public rejoicings to be made on account of it; and faid, he

18. Pefcara had intermingled with the imperial horfe, a confiderable number of Spanifh foot, armed with the heavy mufkets then in ufe. Guicciardini, lib. xv.

19. *Mem. de Bellay.* Brantome. Guicciardini.

only

only valued it, as it would prove the occasion of restoring peace to Christendom. Louisa however did not trust to those appearances. Instead of giving herself up to such lamentations as were natural to a woman remarkable for maternal tenderness, she discovered all the foresight, and exerted all the activity of a consummate politician. She took every possible measure for putting the kingdom in a posture of defence, while she employed all her address to appease the resentment and to gain the friendship of England [20]; and a ray of comfort from that quarter soon broke in upon the French affairs.

Though Henry VIII. had not entered into the war against France from any concerted political views, he had always retained some imperfect idea of that balance of power necessary to be maintained between Charles and Francis, the preservation of which he boasted was his peculiar office. By his alliance with the emperor, he hoped to recover some part of those territories on the continent which had belonged to his ancestors; and in that hope, he willingly contributed to give Charles the ascendancy above his rival. But having never dreamt of any event so decisive and fatal as the victory at Pavia, which seemed not only to have broken, but to have annihilated the power of Francis, Henry now became sensible of his own danger, as well as of that of all Europe, from the loss of a proper counterpoise to the power of Charles. Instead of taking advantage of the distressed condition of France, the English monarch therefore determined to assist her in her present calamities. Other causes conspired to enforce this resolution.

The elevation of the cardinal of Medicis to St. Peter's chair, on the death of Adrian VI. under the name of Clement VII. had made the English minister sensible of the insincerity of the emperor's promises, while it extinguished all his hopes of the papacy: and Wolsey resolved on revenge.

20. Ibid.

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His master too had ground of complaint. Charles had so ill supported the appearance of moderation which he assumed, when first informed of his good fortune, that he had already changed his usual style to Henry; and instead of writing to him with his own hand, and subscribing himself "your affectionate son and cousin," he dictated his letters to a secretary, and simply subscribed himself "Charles." Influenced by all these considerations, together with the glory of raising a fallen enemy, Henry listened to the flattering submissions of Louisa; entered into a defensive alliance with her, as regent of France; and engaged to use his best offices in order to procure a deliverance of her son from a state of captivity[21].

Meanwhile Francis was rigorously confined; and hard conditions being proposed to him, as the price of his liberty, he drew his dagger, and pointing it at his breast, cried, "'Twere better that a king should die thus!" But flattering himself when he grew cool, that such propositions could not come directly from Charles, he desired that he might be removed to Spain, where the emperor then resided. His request was complied with; but he languished long before he could obtain a sight of his conqueror. At last he was favoured with a visit; and the emperor dreading a general combination against him, or that Francis, if driven to despair, might, as he threatened, resign his crown to the Dauphin, agreed to abate somewhat of his former demands. A treaty was accordingly concluded at Madrid, in consequence of which Francis obtained his liberty.—The chief article in this treaty was, that Burgundy should be restored to Charles as the rightful inheritance of his ancestors, and that Francis's two eldest sons should be immediately delivered up as hostages for the performance of the conditions stipulated. The exchange of the captive monarch for his children, was made on the frontiers of

A.D. 1526.

21. Herbert. Mezeray. *Mem. de Bellay*. Fiddes, *Life of Wolsey*.

France

France and Spain. And the moment that Fr[illegible]ed his own dominions, he mounted a Turkiſh horſe, and putting it to its ſpeed, waved his hand, and cried aloud ſeveral times, "I am yet a king! I am yet a king[22]!"

The reputation of the French monarch, however, would have ſtood in a fairer light had he died a captive; for the unhappy ſituation of his affairs, delicate as his notions of honour appear to have been, led him henceforth to act a part very diſadvantageous to his moral character. He never meant to execute the treaty of Madrid: he had even left a proteſt in the hands of notaries, before he ſigned it, that his conſent ſhould be conſidered as an involuntary deed, and be deemed null and void[23]. Accordingly, as ſoon as he arrived in France, he aſſembled the ſtates of Burgundy, who proteſted againſt the article relative to their province; and when the imperial ambaſſadors urged the immediate execution of the treaty, the king replied, that he would rigorouſly perform the articles relative to himſelf, but in thoſe affecting the French monarchy, he muſt be directed by the ſenſe of the nation. He made the higheſt acknowledgments to the king of England for his friendly interpoſition, and offered to be entirely guided by his counſels.

Charles and his miniſters now ſaw that they were overreached, in thoſe very arts of negociation in which they ſo much excelled, while the Italian ſtates obſerved with pleaſure, that Francis was reſolved to evade the execution of a treaty, which they conſidered as dangerous to the liberties of Europe. Clement VII. abſolved him from the oath which he had taken at Madrid; and the kings of France and England, the Pope, the Swiſs, the Venetians, the Florentines, and the Milaneſe, entered into an alliance, to which they gave the name of the Holy League, becauſe his Holineſs was at the head of it, in order to oblige the emperor to deliver up Francis's two ſons on the payment of a reaſonable ranſom,

22. Guicciardini, lib. xvi. 23. *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

‡ and

and to re-eſtabliſh Sforza in the quiet poſſeſſion of the duchy of Milan [24].

In conſequence of this league, the confederate army took the field, and Italy became once more the ſcene of war. But Francis, who it was expected would infuſe ſpirit and vigour into the whole body, had gone through ſuch a ſcene of diſtreſs, that he was become diffident of his talents, and diſtruſtful of his fortune. He had flattered himſelf, that the dread alone of ſuch a confederacy would induce Charles to liſten to what was equitable, and therefore neglected to ſend ſufficient reinforcements to his allies in Italy. Meantime the duke of Bourbon, who commanded the Imperialiſts, over-ran the whole duchy of Milan, of which the emperor had promiſed him the inveſtiture; and his troops beginning to mutiny for want of pay, he boldly led them to Rome, in ſpite of every obſtacle, by offering to their avidity the rich ſpoils of that ancient capital. Nor did he deceive them: for although he himſelf was ſlain, while encouraging their efforts by his brave example, in planting with his own hands a ſcaling ladder againſt the walls, they, more enraged than diſcouraged by that misfortune, mounted to the aſſault with the greateſt ardour; and, entering the city ſword in hand, pillaged it for many days, and made it a ſcene of horrid carnage and abominable luſt.

A. D. 1527.

Never did Rome experience in any age ſo many calamities, not even from the Barbarians, by whom ſhe was ſucceſſively ſubdued—from the followers of Alaric, Genſeric, or Odoacer, as now from the ſubjects of a Chriſtian and Catholic monarch. Whatever was reſpectable in modeſty or ſacred in religion, ſeem only the more to provoke the rage of the ſoldiery. Virgins ſuffered violation in the arms of their mothers, and upon thoſe altars to which they had fled for ſafety. Venerable prelates, after being expoſed to every indignity, not excepting the abuſe of unnatural deſire,

24. Goldaſt. *Polit. Imperial.*

and enduring every torture, were thrown into dungeons, and menaced with the moſt cruel deaths, in order to make them reveal their ſecret treaſures. Clement himſelf, who had taken refuge in the caſtle of St. Angelo, was obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion; and found that his ſacred character could neither procure him liberty nor reſpect. He was doomed to cloſe confinement, until he ſhould pay an enormous ranſom, impoſed by the victorious army, and ſurrender to the emperor all the places of ſtrength belonging to the apoſtolic ſee [25].

Charles received the news of this extraordinary event with equal ſurprize and pleaſure; but in order to conceal his joy from his Spaniſh ſubjects, who were filled with horror at the inſult offered to the ſovereign pontiff, and to leſſen the indignation of the other powers of Europe, he expreſſed the deepeſt ſorrow for the ſucceſs of his arms. He put himſelf and his whole court into mourning; ſtopped the rejoicings for the birth of his ſon Philip, and ordered prayers to be put up in all the churches of Spain, for the liberation of the pope, which he could immediately have procured by a letter to his generals [26].

The concern expreſſed by Henry and Francis, for the calamity of their ally, was more ſincere. Alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperial arms, they had, even before the ſacking of Rome, entered into a cloſer alliance, and propoſed to invade the Low Countries with a powerful army; but no ſooner did they hear of Clement's captivity than they changed, by a new treaty, the ſcene of the projected war, from the Netherlands to Italy, and reſolved to take the moſt vigorous

25. Jov. *Vit. Colon.* Guicciardini, lib. xviii. *Mem. de Bellay.* Eight thouſand young women, of all ranks, were found to be pregnant, within five months after the taking of Rome (ibid.); a circumſtance not a little curious in itſelf, and which certain ſportive writers have conſidered as a proof, by no means equivocal, that the Roman ladies reciprocated the tranſports of the rapacious and blood thirſty, but brawny followers of Bourbon.

26. Muroc. *Hiſt. Venet.* lib. iii.

measures for restoring his Holiness to liberty. Henry, however, contributed only money. A French army crossed the Alps, under the command of Marshal Lautrec; Clement obtained his freedom; and war was, for a time, carried on by the confederates with success. But the death of Lautrec, and the revolt of Andrew Doria, a celebrated Genoese admiral, at that time in the service of France, totally changed the face of affairs. He obliged the French garrison in Genoa to surrender, and restore the liberties of his country. The French army was utterly ruined before Naples; and Francis, discouraged, and almost exhausted by so many unsuccessful enterprizes, began at length to think of peace, and of obtaining the release of his sons by concessions, instead of the terror of his arms.

A. D. 1528

At the same time Charles, notwithstanding the advantages he had gained, had many reasons to wish for an accommodation. Solyman the Magnificent, having over-run Hungary, was ready to break in upon the Austrian territories with the whole force of the Ottoman empire; and the progress of the Reformation in Germany threatened the tranquillity of that country. In consequence of this situation of affairs, while pride made both parties conceal or dissemble their real sentiments, two ladies were permitted to restore peace to Europe. Margaret of Austria, Charles's aunt, and Louisa, Francis's mother, met at Cambray, and settled the terms of pacification between the French king and the emperor. Francis agreed to pay two millions of crowns, as the ransom of his two sons; to resign the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and forego all his Italian claims; and Charles ceased to demand the restitution of Burgundy[27].

A. D. 1529.

All the steps of this negociation had been communicated to the king of England; and Henry was, on that occasion, so generous to his friend and ally Francis, that he sent him

27. Sandov. *Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* Robertson, book v.

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an acquittal of near ſix hundred thouſand crowns in order to enable him to fulfil his agreement with Charles. But Francis's Italian confederates were leſs ſatisfied with the treaty of Cambray. They were almoſt wholly abandoned to the will of the emperor, and ſeemed to have no other means of ſecurity left but his equity and moderation. Of theſe, from his paſt conduct, they had not formed the moſt advantageous idea. But Charles's preſent circumſtances, more eſpecially in regard to the Turks, obliged him to behave with a generoſity inconſiſtent with his character. The Florentines alone, whom he reduced under the dominion of the family of Medicis, had reaſon to complain of his ſeverity. Sforza obtained the inveſtiture of the duchy of Milan and his pardon: and every other power experienced the lenity of the victor.

Charles, who during this full tide of his fortune, having quieted all the diſcontents in Spain, had appeared in Italy with the pomp and power of a conqueror, and received the Imperial crown from the hands of the pope, now prepared to reviſit Germany, where his preſence was become highly neceſſary; for although the conduct and valour of his brother Ferdinand, on whom he had conferred the hereditary dominions of the houſe of Auſtria, and who had been elected king of Hungary, had obliged Solyman to withdraw his forces, his return was to be feared, and the diſorders of religion were daily increaſing. But theſe diſorders, and the future exploits of the emperor, muſt form the ſubject of another Letter. A. D. 1530.

LETTER LIX.

The general View of the Affairs of EUROPE, *and of the Progress of the* REFORMATION *on the Continent, continued from the Peace of* CAMBRAY *to that of* CREPY, *in* 1544.

THE Reformation, my dear Philip, had gained much ground in Germany, during that long interval of tranquillity, which the absence of the emperor, the contests between him and the pope, and his attention to the war with France, afforded its promoters. Most of the princes who had embraced Luther's opinions, had not only established in their territories that form of worship which he approved, but had entirely suppressed the rites of the Romish church. Many of the free cities had imitated their conduct. Almost one half of the Germanic body had revolted from the papal see; and its dominion, even in that part which had not yet shaken off the yoke of Rome, was considerably weakened by the example of the neighbouring states, or by the secret progress of those doctrines which had undermined it among them.

Whatever satisfaction the emperor, while at open enmity with the pope, might have felt in those events which tended to mortify and embarrass his Holiness, he was at the same time sensible, that the religious divisions in Germany would, in the end, prove hurtful to the imperial authority. Accordingly the prospect of an accommodation with Clement no sooner opened, than Charles appointed a diet of empire to be held at Spire, in order to take into consideration the state of religion. The diet, after much dispute, issued a decree confirming the edict published against Luther at Worms, and prohibiting any farther innovations in religion, but particularly the abolition of the mass, before the meeting of a general council. Against this decree, as unjust and impious, the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse,

A. D. 1529.

Hesse, the duke of Lunenburg, the prince of Anhalt, together with the duputies of fourteen imperial or free cities, entered a solemn protest. On that account they were called PROTESTANTS[1]; an appellation which has since become common to all the sects, of whatever denomination, that have revolted from the church of Rome.

Such was the state of religious matters when Charles returned to Germany. He assisted in person at the diet of Augsburg; where the Protestants presented their system of opinions, composed by Melancthon, the most learned and moderate of all the reformers. This system, known by the name of the *Confession of Augsburg*, from the place where it was presented, was publicly read in the diet. Some popish divines were appointed to examine it; they brought in their animadversions; a dispute ensued between them and Melancthon, seconded by some of his disciples; and, as in most cases of that kind, nothing was determined. Every one remained in his own way of thinking. From the Protestant divines, Charles turned to the princes their patrons, but with no better success: they refused to abandon what they deemed the cause of God, for any earthly advantage. Coercive measures were resolved upon. A decree was issued condemning most of the peculiar tenets held by the Protestants, and prohibiting any one to tolerate those who taught them.

A. D. 1530.

In consequence of this decree, which they considered as a prelude to the most violent persecution, the protestant princes assembled at Smalkalde, and concluded a league of mutual defence; and the emperor's ambition, which led him to get his brother elected king of the Romans, in order to continue the imperial crown in his family, furnished the confederates with a decent pretence for courting the alliance of foreign princes. The kings of France and England secretly agreed to support them. Meanwhile many cir-

A. D. 1531.

1. Sleidan. Father Paul. Seckend.

cumſtances and reflections convinced Charles, that this was not a proper ſeaſon to attempt the extirpation of hereſy by the ſword. He ſaw Solyman ready to enter Hungary, with the whole force of the Turkiſh empire, in order to wipe off the diſgrace which his arms had ſuſtained in the former campaign: he felt the neceſſity of union, not only for the accompliſhment of his future ſchemes, but for aſcertaining his preſent ſafety. The peace with France was precarious; and he was afraid that the followers of Luther, if treated with ſeverity, might forget that they were Chriſtians, and join the infidels. Policy made him drop the maſk of zeal. By a treaty concluded at Nuremburgh, and ſolemnly ratified in the diet at Ratiſbon, the emperor granted the Proteſtants liberty of conſcience until the meeting of a general council: and they agreed, on their part, to aſſiſt him powerfully againſt the Turks [2].

A. D. 1532.

This treaty was no ſooner ſigned than Charles received information, that Solyman had entered Hungary, at the head of three hundred thouſand men. The imperial army, conſiſting of ninety thouſand diſciplined foot, and thirty thouſand horſe, beſides a prodigious ſwarm of irregulars, immediately aſſembled in the neighbourhood of Vienna. Of this vaſt body the emperor, for the firſt time, took the command in perſon: and Europe waited, in anxious ſuſpenſe, the iſſue of a deciſive battle between the two greateſt potentates in the univerſe. But each dreading the other's power and good fortune, both conducted their operations with ſo much caution, that a campaign, from which the moſt important conſequences had been expected, was cloſed without any memorable event. Solyman finding it impoſſible to take advantage of an enemy always on his guard, marched back to Conſtantinople; and Charles, freed from ſo dangerous an invader, ſet out for Spain [3].

2. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomatique*, tom. iv.

3. Sandov. *Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V.* vol. ii. Robertſon, book v.

During

During the emperor's absence, great disorders prevailed in Germany, occasioned by the fanaticism of a sect of reformers distinguished by the name of Anabaptists; because they contended, that the sacrament of baptism should be administered only to persons grown up to years of understanding, and should be performed not by sprinkling them with water, but by dipping them in it. This tenet was at least harmless; but they held others of a more enthusiastic, as well as dangerous nature. They maintained, That, among Christians, who have the precepts of the Gospel to direct, and the spirit of God to guide them, the office of magistrate is unnecessary, and an encroachment on spiritual liberty; that all distinctions of birth or rank ought to be abolished; that a community of goods should be established, and that every man may lawfully marry as many wives as he thinks proper.

Tenets so flattering to human weakness and human pride, naturally produced a number of converts, especially among the lower class of people. The peasants greedily embraced opinions which promised to place them on a level with their imperious masters. They assembled in great bodies, and spread devastation wherever they came. But being destitute of a skilful leader, they were soon dispersed; and Muncer, the first Anabaptist prophet, perished on a scaffold at Mulhausen in 1525. Several of his followers, however, lurked in different places, and secretly propagated the opinions of their sect. At last two Anabaptist prophets, John Matthias, a baker of Harlem, and John Bocold, a journeyman taylor of Leyden, possessed with the rage of making proselytes, fixed their residence at Munster, an imperial city in Westphalia; and privately assembling their associates, from the neighbouring country, made themselves masters of the town, and expelled the inhabitants. A. D. 1533.

Here the Anabaptists formed a singular kind of republic, over which Matthias assumed absolute authority, and wrote to his brethren in the Low Countries, inviting them to assemble at Mount Sion, so he termed A. D. 1534.

 Munster,

Munſter, that they might thence ſet out in a body to reduce all nations under their dominion. Meanwhile the biſhop of Munſter having aſſembled a conſiderable army, advanced to beſiege the town. On his approach, Matthias ſallied out, at the head of a choſen band, forced his camp, and returned to the city loaded with glory and ſpoil. But his ſucceſs proved fatal to him. Thinking nothing now impoſſible for the favourites of Heaven, he went out to meet the enemy, accompanied by no more than thirty of his followers; boaſting, that, like Gideon, he would ſmite the hoſt of the ungodly with a handful of men. The prophet and his thirty aſſociates were ſlain.

The Anabaptiſts, however, did not deſpair: John of Leyden, their other light, ſtill remained. This man, leſs bold, but more ambitious than Matthias, aſſumed the title of king: and being young, and of a complexion equally amorous and enthuſiaſtic, he exerciſed, in their utmoſt latitude, thoſe principles of his ſect which favoured ſenſual gratification. He took, in a ſhort time, no leſs than fourteen wives. His example was followed by his brethren: no man remained ſatisfied with a ſingle wife. The houſes were ſearched; and young women grown up to maturity were inſtantly ſeized, and compelled to marry. Notwithſtanding this ſenſuality, Munſter made a gallant defence; but the biſhop's army being reinforced, and the beſieged greatly diſtreſſed for want of proviſions, one of their own body deſerted, and betrayed

A. D. 1535.

them. The city was taken by ſurprize: moſt of the Anabaptiſts were ſlain; and their king was made priſoner, and put to death by the moſt exquiſite and lingering tortures, all which he bore with aſtoniſhing fortitude[4]. So wonderful are the effects of enthuſiaſm in communicating courage, even to minds naturally the moſt timid and feeble! and ſo difficult is it, in ſuch caſes, to diſtinguiſh between the martyr and the viſionary!

4. Ant. Lamb. Hortenſ. *Tumult. Anabaptiſt.* Jo. Bapt. Ottii, *Annal. Anabaptiſt.* Moſheim. *Hiſt. Eccleſ.* vol. iv.

While

While these things were transacting in Germany, Charles undertook an expedition against the Piratical States of Africa. Barbary, or that part of the African continent which lies along the coast of the Mediterranean sea, was then nearly in the same condition it is at present. Morocco, Algiers, and Tunis, were its principal governments; and the two last were nests of pirates. Barbarossa, a famous corsair, had succeeded his brother in the kingdom of Algiers, which he formerly assisted him to usurp. He regulated with much prudence the interior police of his kingdom, carried on his piracies with great vigour, and extended his conquests on the continent of Africa; but perceiving that the natives submitted to his government with impatience, and fearing that his continual depredations might draw upon him a general combination of the Christian powers, he put his dominions under the protection of the Turkish emperor. Solyman, flattered by such an act of submission, and charmed with the boldness of the man, offered him the command of the Ottoman fleet. Proud of this distinction, Barbarossa repaired to Constantinople, and made use of his influence with his sultan to extend his own dominions. Partly by force, partly by treachery, he usurped the kingdom of Tunis; and being now possessed of greater power, he carried on his depredations against the Christian states with more destructive violence than ever.

Daily complaints of the piracies and ravages committed by the gallies of Barbarossa were brought to the emperor by his subjects, both in Spain and Italy; and all Christendom seemed to look up to Charles, as its greatest and most fortunate prince, for relief from this new and odious species of oppression. At the same time Muley-Hascen, the exiled king of Tunis, finding none of the African princes able or willing to support him in recovering his throne, applied to the victorious Charles for assistance against the usurper. Equally desirous of delivering his dominions from the dangerous neighbourhood of Barbarossa, of appearing as the protector

of

of an unfortunate prince, and of acquiring the glory annexed in that age to every expedition againſt the Mahometans, the emperor readily concluded a treaty with Muley Haſcen, and ſet ſail for Tunis with a formidable armament.

The Goletta, a ſtrong fortreſs on an iſland in the bay of Tunis, and the key of the capital, planted with three hundred pieces of cannon, was taken by ſtorm, together with all Barbaroſſa's fleet. He was defeated in a pitched battle; and ten thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves, having knocked off their fetters, and made themſelves maſters of the citadel, Tunis offered to ſurrender at diſcretion. But while Charles was deliberating on the means of preſerving the lives of the inhabitants, his troops, fearing that they would be deprived of the booty which they had expected, broke ſuddenly into the town, and pillaged and maſſacred without diſtinction. Thirty thouſand perſons periſhed by the ſword, and ten thouſand were made priſoners. The ſceptre, drenched in blood, was reſtored to Muley Haſcen, on condition that he ſhould acknowledge himſelf a vaſſal of the crown of Spain, put into the emperor's hands all the fortified ſea-ports in the kingdom of Tunis, and pay annually twelve thouſand crowns for the ſubſiſtence of a Spaniſh garriſon in the Goletta. Theſe points being ſettled, and twenty thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves freed from bondage, either by arms or by treaty, Charles returned to Europe, where his preſence was become neceſſary; while Barbaroſſa, who had retired to Bona, recovered new ſtrength, and again became the tyrant of the ocean[5].

The king of France took advantage of the emperor's abſence, to revive his claims in Italy. The treaty of Cambray had covered up, but not extinguiſhed, the flames of diſcord. Francis in particular, who waited only for a favourable opportunity of recovering the territories and reputation which he had loſt, continued to negociate againſt his rival with different courts. But all his negociations were diſconcerted by

5. Sandov. vol. ii. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book v.

unforeſeen

unforeseen accidents. The death of Clement VII. (whom he had gained by marrying his son, the duke of Orleans, afterwards Henry II. to Catharine of Medicis, the niece of that pontiff) deprived him of all the support which he hoped to receive from the court of Rome. The king of England, occupied with domestic cares and projects, declined engaging in the affairs of the continent; and the Protestant princes, associated by the league of Smalkalde, to whom also Francis had applied, and who seemed at first disposed to listen to him, filled with indignation and resentment at the cruelty with which some of their reformed brethren had been treated in France, refused to have any connection with the enemy of their religion.

The particulars of this persecution it will be proper to relate, as they serve to illustrate the manners of the times. Francis was neither cruel nor bigoted. His levity and love of pleasure allowed him little leisure to concern himself about religious disputes; but his principles becoming suspected, at a time when the emperor was gaining immortal glory by his expedition against the Infidels, he found it necessary to vindicate himself by some extraordinary demonstration of reverence for the established faith. The indiscreet zeal of some Protestant converts furnished him with the occasion. They had affixed to the gates of the Louvre, and other public places, papers containing indecent reflections on the rites of the Romish church. Six of the persons concerned in this rash action were seized; and the king, pretending to be struck with horror at their blasphemies, appointed a solemn procession, in order to avert the wrath of Heaven. The Host was carried through the city of Paris in great pomp: Francis walked uncovered before it, bearing a torch in his hand; the princes of the blood supported the canopy over it; the nobles walked behind. In presence of this numerous assembly, the king declared, that if one of his hands were infected with heresy, he would cut it off with the other: "and I would sacrifice," added he, "even my own "children,

"children, if found guilty of that crime." As an awful proof of his sincerity, the six unhappy persons who had been seized, were publicly burnt, before the procession was finished, and in the most cruel manner. They were fixed upon a machine which descended into the flames, and retired alternately, until they expired[6].—Little wonder that the Protestant princes were incensed at such barbarity!

But Francis, though unsupported by any ally, commanded his army to advance toward the frontiers of Italy, under pretence of chastising the duke of Milan for a breach of the law of nations, in putting to death his ambassador. The operations of war, however, soon took a new direction. Instead of marching directly to the duchy of Milan, Francis commenced hostilities against the duke of Savoy, with whom he had cause to be dissatisfied, and on whom he had some claims; and before the end of the campaign, that feeble prince saw himself stripped of all his dominions, except the province of Piedmont. To complete his misfortunes, the city of Geneva, the sovereignty of which he claimed, and where the reformed religion was already established, threw off his yoke; and its revolt drew along with it the loss of the adjacent territory. Geneva was then an Imperial city, and now became the capital of an independent republic.

In this extremity, the duke of Savoy saw no resource, but in the emperor's protection; and as his misfortunes were chiefly occasioned by his attachment to the imperial interest, he had a title to immediate assistance. But Charles, who was just returned from his African expedition, was not able to lend him the necessary support. His treasury was entirely drained, and he was obliged to disband his army, until he could raise new supplies. So wasting is the continued practice, even of successful war, to the most opulent princes and states!

Meantime the death of Sforza duke of Milan, totally

6. Belcarii, *Comment. Rer. Gallic.* Sleid. *Hist. Reformat.*

changed

changed the nature of the war, and afforded the emperor full leisure to prepare for action. The French monarch's pretext for taking up arms was at once cut off; but as the duke had died without issue, all Francis's rights to the duchy of Milan, which he had yielded only to Sforza and his descendants, returned to him in full force. He accordingly renewed his claim to it: and if he had ordered his army immediately to advance, he might have made himself master of it. But he unfortunately wasted his time in fruitless negociations, while his more politic rival took possession of the long-disputed territory, as a vacant fief of the empire. And although Charles seemed still to admit the equity of Francis's claim, he delayed granting the investiture under various pretences, and was secretly taking every possible measure to prevent his recovering footing in Italy.

During the time gained in this manner, Charles had recruited his finances, and of course his armies; and finding himself in a condition for war, he at last threw off the mask, under which he had so long concealed his designs from the court of France. Entering Rome with great pomp, he pronounced, before the pope and cardinals assembled in full consistory, a violent invective against Francis, by way of reply to his propositions concerning the investiture of Milan. Yet Francis, by an unaccountable fatality, continued to negociate, as if it had still been possible to terminate their differences in an amicable manner; and Charles, finding him so eager to run into the snare, favoured the deception, and by seeming to listen to his proposals, gained yet more time for the execution of his own ambitious projects[7]. A. D. 1536.

If misfortune had rendered Francis too diffident, success had made Charles too confident. He presumed on nothing less than the subversion of the French monarchy; nay, he considered it as an infallible event. Having chased the forces

7. *Mem. de Bellay.*

of

of his rival out of Piedmont and Savoy, he pushed forward at the head of fifty thousand men, contrary to the advice of his most experienced ministers and generals, to invade the southern provinces of France; while two other armies were ordered to enter that kingdom, the one on the side of Picardy, the other on the side of Champagne. He thought it impossible that Francis could resist so many unexpected attacks, on such different quarters; but he found himself mistaken.

The French monarch fixed upon the most effectual plan for defeating the invasion of a powerful enemy: and he prudently persevered in following it, though contrary to his own natural temper, and to the genius of his people. He determined to remain altogether upon the defensive, and to deprive the enemy of subsistence, by laying waste the country before them. The execution of this plan was committed to the mareschal de Montmorency, its author, a man happily fitted for such service, by the inflexible severity of his disposition. He made choice of a strong camp, under the walls of Avignon, at the confluence of the Rhone and Durance, where he assembled a considerable army; while the king, with another body of troops, encamped at Valence, higher up the Rhone. Marselles and Arles were the only towns he thought it necessary to defend, and each of these he furnished with a numerous garrison of his best troops. The inhabitants of the other towns were compelled to abandon their habitations; the fortifications of such places as might have afforded shelter to the enemy were thrown down; corn, forage, and provisions of every kind were carried off or destroyed; the mills and ovens were ruined, and the wells filled or rendered useless.

This devastation extended from the Alps to Marseilles, and from the sea to the confines of Dauphiny; so that the emperor, when he arrived with the van of his army on the confines of Provence, instead of that rich and populous country which he expected to enter, beheld nothing but one vast and

desert

desert solitude. He did not, however, despair of success, though he saw that he would have many difficulties to encounter; and, as an encouragement to his officers, he made them liberal promises of lands and honours in France. But all the land which any of them obtained was a grave, and their master lost much honour by this rash and presumptuous enterprize. After unsuccessfully investing Marseilles and Arles; after attempting in vain to draw Montmorency from his camp at Avignon, and not daring to attack it, Charles having spent two inglorious months in Provence, and lost one half of his troops by famine or disease, was under the necessity of ordering a retreat; and although he was some time in motion before the enemy suspected his intention, his retreat was conducted with so much precipitation and disorder, as to deserve the name of a flight, the light troops of France having turned his march into a perfect rout. The invasion of Picardy was not more effectual; the Imperial forces were obliged to retire without effecting any conquest of importance[8].

Charles had no sooner conducted the shattered remains of his army to the frontiers of Milan, than he set out for Genoa; and, unwilling to expose himself to the scorn of the Italians, after such a reverse of fortune, he embarked directly for Spain[9].

Meanwhile Francis gave himself up to that vain resentment, which had formerly disgraced the prosperity of his rival. They had frequently, in the course of their quarrels, given each other the lie, and mutual challenges had been sent; which though productive of no serious consequences between the parties, had a powerful tendency to encourage the pernicious practice of duelling. Charles, in his invective pronounced at Rome, had publicly accused Francis of perfidy, and breach of faith: Francis now exceeded Charles

8. *Sandov. Hist. del Emp. Carl. V.* Robertson, book vi. 9. Id. ibid.

in

in the indecency of his accusations. The Dauphin dying suddenly, his death was imputed to poison: Mon-
A. D. 1537. tecuculi, his cup-bearer, was put to the rack: and that unhappy nobleman, in the agonies of torture, accused the emperor's generals, Gonzaga and de Leyva, of instigating him to the detestable act. The emperor himself was suspected; nay, this extorted confession, and some obscure hints, were considered as incontestible proofs of his guilt; though it was evident to all mankind, that neither Charles nor his generals could have any inducement to perpetrate such a crime, as Francis was still in the vigour of life himself, and had two sons besides the Dauphin [10].

But the incensed monarch's resentment did not stop here. Francis was not satisfied with endeavouring to blacken the character of his rival by an ambiguous testimony, which led to the most injurious suspicions, and upon which the most cruel constructions had been put: he was willing to add rebellion to murder. For this purpose, he went to the Parliament of Paris; where being seated with the usual solemnities, the advocate-general appeared, and accused Charles of Austria (so he affected to call the emperor) of having violated the treaty of Cambray, by which he was freed from the homage due to the crown of France for the counties of Artois and Flanders; adding, that this treaty being now void, he was still to be considered as a vassal of France, and consequently had been guilty of rebellion, in taking arms against his sovereign. The charge was sustained by the court, and Charles was summoned to appear before the Parliament of Paris at a day fixed. The term expired; and no person appearing in the emperor's name, the parliament gave judgment, that Charles of Austria had forfeited, by rebellion and contumacy, the counties of Flanders and Artois, and declared these fiefs reunited to the crown of France [11].

10. Sandov. ubi sup.

11. *Mem. de Ribier.*

Francis

Francis soon after this vain display of his animosity, marched into the Low Countries, as if he had intended to execute the sentence pronounced by his parliament. But a suspension of arms took place, through the interposition of the queens of France and Hungary, before any thing of consequence was effected: and this cessation of hostilities was followed by a truce, concluded at Nice, through A. D. 1538. the mediation of the reigning pontiff Paul III. of the family of Farnese, a man of venerable character and pacific disposition.

Each of these rival princes had strong reasons to incline them to peace. The finances of both were exhausted; and the emperor, the most powerful of the two, was deeply impressed with the dread of the Turkish arms, which Francis had drawn upon him by a league with Solyman. In consequence of this league, Barbarossa, with a great fleet, appeared on the coast of Naples; filled that kingdom with consternation; landed without resistance near Taranto; obliged Castro, a place of some strength, to surrender; plundered the adjacent country, and was taking measures for securing and extending his conquest, when the unexpected arrival of Doria, the famous Genoese admiral, together with the pope's gallies and a squadron of the Venetian fleet, made it prudent for him to retire. The sultan's forces also invaded Hungary, where the Turkish general, after gaining several inferior advantages, defeated the Germans in a great battle at Essek on the Drave.

Happily for Charles and for Europe, it was not in Francis's power, at this juncture, either to join the Turks, or to assemble an army strong enough to penetrate into the duchy of Milan. The emperor however was sensible, that he could not long resist the efforts of two such powerful confederates, nor expect that the same fortunate circumstances would concur a second time in his favour. He therefore thought it necessary, both for his safety and reputation, to give his consent to a truce; and Francis chose rather to run the risk of disobliging

obliging his new ally the ſultan, than to draw on his head the indignation, and perhaps the arms of all Chriſtendom, by obſtinately obſtructing the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, and contributing to the aggrandiſement of the Infidels [12].

Theſe conſiderations inclined the contending monarchs to liſten to the arguments of the pope: but his Holineſs found it impoſſible to bring about a final accommodation between them, each inflexibly perſiſting in aſſerting his own claims. Nor could he prevail on them to ſee one another, though both came to the place of rendezvous; ſo great were the remains of diſtruſt and rancour, or ſuch the difficulty of adjuſting the ceremonial! Yet, improbable as it may ſeem, a few days after ſigning the truce, the emperor in his paſſage to Barcelona, being driven on the coaſt of Provence, Francis invited him to come a-ſhore; frankly viſited him on board his galley, and was received and entertained with the warmeſt demonſtrations of eſteem and affection. Charles with an equal degree of confidence, paid the king next day a viſit at Aigues-mortes; where theſe two hoſtile rivals, and vindictive enemies, who had accuſed one another of every kind of baſeneſs, converſing together with all the cordiality of brothers, ſeemed to vie with each other in expreſſions of reſpect and friendſhip [13]!—Such ſudden tranſitions from enmity to affection, and from ſuſpicion to confidence, can only be accounted for from that ſpirit of chivalry, with which the manners of both princes were ſtrongly tinctured.

Beſides the glory of having reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Paul III. ſecured a point of much conſequence to his family. He obtained in marriage, for his grandſon, Margaret of Auſtria, the emperor's natural daughter, formerly wife to Alexander of Medicis, whom Charles had raiſed to the ſupreme power in Florence. Lorenzo of Medicis, the kinſman and intimate companion of Alexander, had aſſaſſinated him by one of the blackeſt treaſons recorded in hiſtory.

12. Jovii. *Hiſt.* lib. xxxv.

13. Sand. *Hiſt. del Emp. Carl. V.*

Under

Under pretence of having secured him an assignation with a lady of great beauty, and of the highest rank, he drew him into a secret apartment of his palace, and there stabbed him, as he lay carelessly on a couch, expecting the presence of the lovely fair, whom he had often solicited in vain. Lorenzo, however, did not reap the fruits of his crime; for although some of his countrymen extolled him as a third Brutus, and endeavoured to seize this occasion for recovering their liberties, the government of Florence passed into the hands of Cosmo II. another kinsman of Alexander[14]. Cosmo was desirous of marrying the widow of his predecessor; but the emperor chose rather to oblige the pope, by bestowing his daughter upon Octavio Farnese, son of the duke of Parma, and grandson of his Holiness.

Charles had soon farther cause to be sensible of his obligations to Paul III. for negociating the truce of Nice. His troops, every where, mutinied for want of pay, and the ability of his generals, only could have prevented a total revolt. He had depended upon the subsidies which he expected from his Castilian subjects for discharging the arrears of his army. He accordingly assembled the Cortes of Castile at Toledo; and having represented to them the great expence of his military operations, he proposed to levy such supplies as the present exigency of his affairs demanded, by a general excise on commodities. But the Spaniards, who already felt themselves oppressed with a load of taxes unknown to their ancestors, and who had often complained, that their country was drained of its wealth and its inhabitants, in order to prosecute quarrels in which they had no interest, determined not to add voluntarily to their own burthens. The nobles, in particular, inveighed with great vehemence against the measure proposed; as it would encroach on the most valuable and distinguished privilege of their order, that of being exempted from the payment of any tax.

A. D. 1539.

14. *Lett. di Princip.*

After employing arguments and promiſes in vain, Charles therefore diſmiſſed the aſſembly with indignation: and from that period neither the nobles nor the prelates have been called to the Cortes, on pretence that ſuch as pay no part of the public taxes, ſhould not claim a vote in laying them on. Theſe aſſemblies have ſince conſiſted merely of the procurators or repreſentatives of eighteen cities, two from each; in all thirty-ſix members, who are abſolutely at the devotion of the crown[15].

The citizens of Ghent, ſtill more bold, broke out not long after into open rebellion againſt the emperor's government, on account of a tax which they judged contrary to their ancient privileges, and a deciſion of the council of Mechlin in favour of the imperial authority. Enraged at an unjuſt impoſition, and rendered deſperate on ſeeing their rights betrayed by that very court which was bound to protect them, they flew to arms; ſeized ſeveral of the emperor's officers, and drove ſuch of the nobility as reſided among them out of the city. Senſible, however, of their inability to ſupport what their zeal had prompted them to undertake, and deſirous of ſecuring a protector againſt the formidable forces with which they might expect ſoon to be attacked, they offered to acknowledge the king of France as their ſovereign; to put him into immediate poſſeſſion of their city, and to aſſiſt him in recovering thoſe provinces in the Netherlands which had anciently belonged to his crown. True policy directed Francis to comply with this propoſal. The counties of Flanders and Artois were more valuable than the duchy of Milan, for which he had ſo long contended; and their ſituation in regard to France made it more eaſy to conquer or to defend them. But we are apt to eſtimate the value of things by the trouble which they have coſt us. Francis, computing in this manner, over-rated the territory of Milan. He had lived in friendſhip with the emperor, ever ſince their inter-

15. *La Science de Gov.* par M. de Real. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book vi.

view

view at Aigueſmortes, and Charles had promiſed him the inveſtiture of that duchy. Forgetting therefore all his paſt injuries, and the deceitful promiſes by which he had been ſo often duped, the credulous, generous, but unprincipled Francis, not only rejected the propoſitions of the citizens of Ghent, but communicated to the emperor his whole negociation with the malcontents [16].

Judging of Charles's heart by his own, Francis hoped, by this ſeemingly intereſted proceeding, to obtain at once the inveſtiture of Milan: and the emperor, well acquainted with the weakneſs of his rival, flattered him in this hope, for his own ſelfiſh purpoſes. His preſence being neceſſary in the Netherlands, he demanded a paſſage through France. It was immediately granted him; and Charles, to whom every moment was precious, ſet out, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of his council, and fears of his Spaniſh ſubjects, with a ſmall but ſpledid train of an hundred perſons. He was met on the frontiers of France by the dauphin and the duke of Orleans, who offered to go into Spain, and remain there as hoſtages, till he ſhould reach his own dominions; but Charles replied, that the king's honour was ſufficient for his ſafety, and proſecuted his journey without any other ſecurity. The king entertained him with the utmoſt magnificence at Paris, and the two young princes did not take leave of him till he entered the Low Countries; yet he ſtill found means to evade his promiſe, and Francis continued to believe his profeſſions ſincere [17].

The citizens of Ghent, alarmed at the approach of the emperor, who was joined in the Netherlands by by three armies, ſent ambaſſadors to implore his mercy, and offered to throw open their gates. Charles only condeſcended to reply, that he would appear among them, "as a ſovereign and a judge, with the ſceptre and the ſword."

A. D. 1540.

16. Sandov. ubi ſup. *Mem. de Pellay.*
17. *Mem. de Ribier.* Thuan. lib. i. *Mem. de Bellay.*

He accordingly entered the place of his nativity, on the anniversary of his birth; and instead of that lenity which might have been expected, exhibited an awful example of his severity. Twenty-six of the principal citizens were put to death; a greater number were banished; the city was declared to have forfeited its privileges; a new system of laws and political administration was prescribed; and a large fine was imposed on the inhabitants, in order to defray the expence of erecting a citadel, together with an annual tax for the support of a garrison. They were not only despoiled of their ancient immunities, but made to pay, like conquered people, for the means of perpetuating their own slavery [18].

Having thus re-established his authority in the Low Countries, and being now under no necessity of continuing that scene of falshood and dissimulation with which he had amused the French monarch, Charles began gradually to throw aside the veil under which he had concealed his intentions with respect to the duchy of Milan, and at last peremptorily refused to give up a territory of such value, or voluntarily to make such a liberal addition to the strength of an enemy, by diminishing his own power. He even denied, that he had ever made any promise which could bind him to an action so foolish, and so contrary to his own interest [19].

This transaction exposed the king of France to as much scorn as it did the emperor to censure. The blind credulity of Francis, after he had experienced so often the duplicity and artifices of his rival, seemed to merit no other return. He remonstrated, however, and exclaimed, as if this had been the first instance in which the emperor had deceived him. The insult offered to his understanding, affected him even more sensibly than the injury done to his interest; and he discovered such resentment as made it obvious that he would seize on the first opportunity of revenge, and that a new war would soon desolate the European continent.

18. Haræi, *Annal. Brabantiæ.* 19. *Mem. de Belloy.*

Mean-

Meanwhile Charles was obliged to turn his attention towards the affairs of Germany. The Protestants having in vain demanded a general council, pressed him earnestly to appoint a conference between a select number of divines of each party, in order to examine the points in dispute. For this purpose a diet was assembled at Ratisbon: and such a conference, notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, was held with great solemnity in the presence of the emperor. But the divines chosen to manage the controversy, though men of learning and moderation, were only able to settle a few speculative opinions, all points relative to worship and jurisdiction serving only to inflame the minds of the disputants. Charles therefore, finding his endeavours to bring about an accommodation ineffectual, and being impatient to close the diet, prevailed on a majority of the members to approve of the following edict of recess: That the articles concerning which the divines had agreed, should be held as points decided; that those about which they had differed, should be referred to the determination of a general council, or if that could not be obtained, to a nationa synod; and should it prove impracticable also to assemble a synod of Germany, that a general diet of the empire should be called within eighteen months, in order to give final judgment on the whole controversy; that, in the meantime, no innovations should be made, nor any means employed to gain proselytes[20].

A. D. 1541.

This edict gave great offence to the pope. The bare mention of allowing a diet, composed chiefly of laymen, to pass judgment in regard to articles of faith, appeared to him no less criminal and profane than the worst of those heresies which the emperor seemed so zealous to suppress. The Protestants also were dissatisfied with it, as it considerably abridged the liberty which they at that time enjoyed. They murmured loudly against it; and Charles, unwilling to leave

20. Father Paul, lib i. Seckend. lib. iii. Dumont, *Corps Diplom.* tom. iv.

any ſeeds of diſcontent in the empire, granted them a private declaration, exempting them from whatever they thought injurious or oppreſſive in the edict of receſs, and aſcertaining to them the full poſſeſſion of all their former privileges[21].

The ſituation of the emperor's affairs at this juncture made theſe extraordinary conceſſions neceſſary. He foreſaw a rupture with France to be unavoidable, and he was alarmed at the rapid progreſs of the Turks in Hungary. A great revolution had happened in that kingdom. John Zapol Scæpius, by the aſſiſtance of Solyman, had wreſted from the king of the Romans a conſiderable part of the country. John died, and left an infant ſon. Ferdinand attempted to take advantage of the minority, in order to repoſſeſs himſelf of the whole kingdom; but his ambition was diſappointed by the activity and addreſs of George Martinuzzi, biſhop of Waradin, who ſhared the regency with the queen. Senſible that he was unable to oppoſe the king of the Romans in the field, Martinuzzi ſatisfied himſelf with holding out the fortified towns, all which he provided with every thing neceſſary for defence; and he at the ſame time ſent ambaſſadors to Solyman, beſeeching him to extend toward the ſon, that imperial protection which had ſo generouſly maintained the father on the throne. Ferdinand uſed his utmoſt endeavours to thwart this negociation, and even meanly offered to hold the Hungarian crown on the ſame ignominious conditions by which John had obtained it, that of paying tribute to the Porte. But the ſultan ſaw ſuch advantages from eſpouſing the intereſt of the young king, that he inſtantly marched into Hungary; and the Germans, having formed the ſiege of Buda, were defeated with great ſlaughter before that city. Solyman, however, inſtead of becoming the protector of the infant ſovereign whom he had relieved, made uſe of this ſucceſs to extend his own dominions: he ſent the queen and

21. Id. ibid.

her son into Transylvania, which province he allotted them, and added Hungary to the Ottoman empire [22].

Happily for the Protestants, Charles had received intelligence of this revolution before the close of the diet at Ratisbon; and in consequence of the concessions which he made them, he obtained such liberal supplies, both of men and money, in order to prosecute the war against the Turks, as left him little anxiety about the security of Germany. He therefore hastened to join his fleet and army in Italy, on purpose to carry into execution a great and favourite enterprize, which he had concerted against Algiers; though it would certainly have been more consistent with his dignity to have conducted the whole force of the empire against Solyman, the common enemy of Christendom, who was preparing to enter his Austrian dominions. But many reasons induced Charles to prefer the African expedition. He wanted strength to combat the Turks in so distant a country as Hungary; and the glory which he had formerly acquired in Barbary led him to hope for like success, while the cries of his Spanish subjects roused him to take vengeance on their ravagers.

Algiers, since the taking of Tunis, was become the common receptacle of all the Barbary corsairs; and from the time that Barbarossa, as captain-basha, commanded the Turkish fleet, it had been governed by Hascen Aga, a renegado eunuch, who out-did, if possible, his master in boldness and cruelty. The commerce of the Mediterranean was greatly interrupted by his gallies; and such frequent alarms were given to the coasts of Spain, that there was a necessity for erecting watch-towers at certain distances, and of keeping a guard constantly employed, in order to descry the approach of his squadrons, and to protect the inhabitants from the depredations of the rapacious ruffians with which they were manned.

Charles, before he left Spain, had resolved to humble this

22. Istuanhaffe, *Hist. Hung.* lib. xiv.

daring

daring corsair, and to exterminate the lawless crew who had so long infested the ocean. With this view he had ordered a fleet and army to assemble on the coast of Italy: and although the autumn was now far advanced, he obstinately persisted in his purpose, notwithstanding the remonstrances of Andrew Doria, who conjured him not to expose so noble an armament to almost inevitable destruction, by venturing at so late a season to approach the stormy coast of Algiers. Doria's words proved prophetical.

No sooner had the emperor landed in Barbary, than a frightful hurricane arose, scattered his fleet, and dashed great part of it in pieces; while he and his land forces were exposed to all the fury of the elements, in an enemy's country, without a hut or a tent to shelter them, or so much as a spot of firm ground on which they could rest their wearied bodies. In this calamitous situation, cold and wet, they continued during several days, harrassed at the same time by the attacks of the Algerines. At last Doria, happily being able to assemble the remains of the fleet, Charles was glad to reimbark, after having lost the greater part of his army, by the inclemency of the weather, famine, or the sword of the enemy. And the men who yet survived were doomed to encounter new miseries in their return; the fleet being scattered by a fresh storm, and the ships obliged to take shelter, separately, in those parts of Spain or Italy they could first reach [23].

Such, my dear Philip, was the result of the emperor's pompous expedition against Algiers, the most unfortunate enterprize of his reign, and that on which he built the highest hopes. But if Charles failed to acquire the glory which ever attends success, he secured that which is more essentially connected with merit. He never appeared greater than amidst his misfortunes. His firmness and constancy of spirit,

23. Nic. Villag. *Expedit. Car. V. ad Argyriam.* Sandov. vol. ii. Robertson, book vi.

his

his magnanimity, fortitude, humanity and compassion, were eminently conspicuous. He endured as severe hardships as the meanest soldier; he exposed his own person to whatever danger appeared; he encouraged the desponding, visited the sick and wounded, and animated all by his words and example[24]. He paid dearly for his obstinacy and presumption; but he made mankind sensible, that he possessed many valuable qualities, which an almost uninterrupted flow of prosperity had hitherto afforded him little opportunity of shewing.

The loss which the emperor suffered in this calamitous enterprize encouraged the king of France to begin hostilities, on which he had been for some time resolved; an action dishonourable to civil society having furnished him with too good a pretext for taking arms. The marquis del Guasto, governor of the duchy of Milan, had got intelligence of the motions and destination of two ambassadors, Rincon and Fergoso, whom Francis had dispatched, the one to the Ottoman Porte, the other to the republic of Venice; and knowing how much his master wished to discover the intentions of the French monarch, and of what consequence it was to retard the execution of his measures, he employed some soldiers belonging to the garrison of Pavia to lie in wait for these ambassadors as they sailed down the Po. The ambassadors and most of their attendants were murdered, and their papers seized[25].

Francis immediately demanded reparation for that barbarous violence; and as Charles endeavoured to put him off with an evasive answer, he appealed to all the courts of Europe, setting forth the heinousness of the injury, the iniquity of the emperor in disregarding his just request, and the necessity of vengeance. But Charles, who was a more profound negociator, defeated in a great measure the effects of these spirited representations. He secured the fidelity of the Protestant

24. Id Ibid.

25. *Mem. de Bellay.*

princes in Germany, by granting them new conceſſions; and he engaged the king of England to eſpouſe his cauſe, under pretence of defending Europe againſt the Infidels; while Francis was only able to form an alliance with the kings of Denmark and Sweden (who for the firſt time intereſted themſelves in the quarrels of the ſovereigns of the South), and to renew his treaty with Solyman, which drew on him the indignation of Chriſtendom.

But the activity of Francis ſupplied all the defects in his negociation. Five armies were ſoon ready to take the field, under different generals, and with different deſtinations. Nor was Charles wanting in his preparations. He and Henry, a ſecond time, made an ideal diviſion of the kingdom of France. But as the hoſtilities that enſued were followed by no important conſequence, nor diſtinguiſhed by any memorable event, except the battle of Ceriſoles, gained by count d'Enguien over the Imperialiſts, and in which ten thouſand of the emperor's beſt troops fell, I ſhall not enter into particulars. It will be ſufficient to obſerve, That, after France, Spain, Piedmont, and the Low Countries, had been alternately, or at once, the ſcene of war; after the Turkiſh fleet, under Barbaroſſa, had ravaged the coaſts of Italy, and the lilies of France and the creſcent of Mahomet had appeared in conjunction before Nice, where the croſs of Savoy was diſplayed, Francis and Charles, mutually tired of harraſſing each other, concluded at Creſpy a treaty of peace, in which the king of England was not mentioned; and, from being implacable enemies, became once more, in appearance, cordial friends, and even allies by the ties of blood[26].

A. D. 1542.

A. D. 1544.

The chief articles in this treaty were, That all the conqueſts which either party had made ſince the truce of Nice ſhould be reſtored; that the emperor ſhould give in marriage to the duke of Orleans, either his own eldeſt daughter, with

26. *Mem. de Moullin. Mem. de Bellay.*

 the

the Low Countries, or the second daughter of his brother Ferdinand, with the investiture of the duchy of Milan; that Francis should renounce all pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, as well as to the sovereignty of Flanders and Artois, and Charles gave up his claim to the duchy of Burgundy; and that both should unite in making war against the Turks [27].

The emperor was chiefly induced to grant conditions so advantageous to France, by a desire of humbling the Protestant princes in Germany. With the papal jurisdiction, he foresaw they would endeavour to throw off the imperial authority; and he had determined to make his zeal for the former a pretence for enforcing and extending the latter. But before I speak of the wars in which that resolution involved him, I must carry forward the domestic history of England, the knowledge of which will throw light on many foreign transactions.

Meanwhile I shall observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that the death of the duke of Orleans, before the consummation of his marriage, disentangled the emperor from the most troublesome stipulation in the treaty of Crespy; and that the French monarch, being still engaged in hostilities with England, was unable to obtain any reparation for the loss which he suffered by this unforeseen event. These hostilities, like those between Charles and Francis, terminated in nothing decisive. Equally tired of a struggle, attended with no glory or advantage to either, the contending princes concluded at Campe, near Ardres, a treaty of peace, in which it was stipulated, That France should pay the arrears due by former treaties to England. But these arrears did not amount to more than one-third of the sum expended by Henry on his military operations; and Francis being in no condition to discharge them, Boulogne (a chargeable pledge) was left in

A. D. 1545.

A. D. 1546.

27. *Recueil des Traitez*, tom. i.

the

the hands of the Engliſh monarch as a ſecurity for the debt[28]. Such was the reſult of a war which had waſted the wealth and ſtrength of both kingdoms, and threatened the final ruin of one of them!

28. Herbert. Stowe.

LETTER LX.

The domeſtic Hiſtory of ENGLAND *during the Reign of* HENRY VIII. *with ſome Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND, *and of the Riſe of the Reformation in both Kingdoms.*

NO prince ever aſcended the throne of England with more advantages than Henry VIII. You have already had occaſion, my dear Philip, to obſerve his fortunate ſituation with reſpect to the great powers on the continent: he was no leſs happy in regard to the internal ſtate of his kingdom, and other domeſtic circumſtances. His title to the crown was undiſputed; his treaſury was full; his ſubjects were in tranquillity; and the vigour and comelineſs of his perſon, his freedom of manners, his love of ſhew, and his dexterity in every manly exerciſe, rendered his acceſſion highly popular, while his proficiency in literature, and his reputation for talents, made his character reſpectable. Every thing ſeemed to prognoſticate a happy and proſperous reign. A. D. 1509.

The firſt act of Henry's adminiſtration confirmed the public hopes: it was the proſecution of Empſon and Dudley, the two unfeeling miniſters whom his father had employed in his extortions. They inſiſted, and perhaps juſtly, that they had acted ſolely by royal authority; but the jury was ſo far moved by popular prejudices as to give a verdict againſt them;

them; and Henry, at the earneſt deſire of the people, granted a warrant for their execution [1].

Having puniſhed the inſtruments of paſt oppreſſion, the king's next concern was to fulfil his former engagements. He had been affianced during his father's lifetime to the Infanta Catharine, his brother's widow; and notwithſtanding ſome ſcruples on that ſtep, he now agreed that their nuptials ſhould be celebrated. We ſhall afterwards have occaſion to obſerve the extraordinary effects of this marriage, and of the king's remorſe, either real or pretended.

Some princes have been their own miniſters, but almoſt every one has either had a miniſter or a favourite: Wolſey, whoſe character has already been delineated, was both to Henry. Being admitted to the youthful monarch's pleaſures, he took the lead in every jovial converſation, and promoted, notwithſtanding his religious habit, all that frolic and gaiety, which he found to be agreeable to the age and inclinations of the king. During the intervals of amuſement, he introduced buſineſs and ſtate affairs, and inſinuated thoſe maxims of conduct, which he was deſirous his maſter ſhould purſue [2]. By theſe means he inſenſibly acquired that abſolute aſcendant over Henry, which diſtinguiſhed his adminiſtration; and the people ſaw with concern, every day new inſtances of his uncontrouled authority.

The duke of Buckingham, lord high conſtable of England, the firſt nobleman in the kingdom both in family and fortune, having wantonly given diſguſt to Wolſey, ſoon found reaſon to repent his imprudence. He was deſcended by a female from the duke of Glouceſter, youngeſt ſon of Edward III. and being infatuated with judicial aſtrology, he conſulted with a Carthuſian friar, named Hopkins, who flattered him with the hope of aſcending one day the Engliſh throne. He had even been ſo unguarded as to utter ſome expreſſions againſt the king's life. The cardinal made theſe the grounds

1. Hollingſhed. 2. Cavendiſh.

of

of an impeachment; and although Buckingham's threats seem to have proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice, he was brought to trial, condemned,

A. D. 1521.

and executed[3]. The office of high constable, which this nobleman inherited from the Bohuns, earls of Hereford, being forfeited by his attainder, was never afterward revived in England.

The next memorable event in the domestic history of this reign, is the divorce of queen Catherine. The king's scruples in regard to the lawfulness of his marriage increased with the decay of the queen's beauty. She had borne him several children, but they were all dead except the princess Mary; and Henry was passionately fond of male issue. He consulted his confessor, the bishop of Lincoln, on the legality of marrying a brother's widow, and found that prelate possessed with some doubts and difficulties. He next proceeded to examine the question by his own learning and study, being himself a great divine and casuist; and having had recourse to the works of his oracle, Thomas Aquinas, he discovered that this celebrated doctor had expressly declared against the lawfulness of such marriages. The archbishop of Canterbury was now applied to, and desired to consult his brethren. All the prelates in England, except Fisher, bishop of Rochester, unanimously declared, under their hand and seal, that they deemed the king's marriage unlawful[4].

A. D. 1527.

Wolsey also fortified his master's scruples; and the bright eyes of Anne Boleyn, maid of honour to the queen, carried home every argument to the heart of Henry, more forcibly than even the suggestions of that powerful favourite.

This young lady was daughter of sir Thomas Boleyn, who had been employed by Henry in several embassies, and was allied to all the chief nobility in the kingdom. She had been carried over to Paris in early youth, by the king's sister,

3. Herbert.

4. Burnet. *Hist. Reformat.* book i.

when

when espoused to Lewis XII. of France; and the graces of her mind, no less than the beauty of her person, had distinguished her even in that polished court. The time at which she returned to England is not certainly known; but it appears to have been after the king had entertained doubts concerning the lawfulness of his marriage. She immediately caught the roving and amorous eye of Henry; and as her virtue and modesty left him no hope of licentious indulgences, he resolved to raise her to the throne, which her accomplishments, both natural and acquired, seemed equally fitted to adorn.

But many bars were yet in the way of Henry's wishes. It was not only necessary to obtain a divorce from the pope, but a revocation of the bull which had been granted for his marriage with Catharine, before he could marry Anne: and he had to combat all the interest of the emperor, whose aunt he was going to degrade. The king of England, however, did not despair of success. He was in high favour with the court of Rome, and he deserved to be so. He had not only opposed the progress of the Lutheran tenets, by all the influence which his extensive and almost absolute authority conferred upon him, but he had even written a book against them: a performance in itself not contemptible, and which gave so much pleasure to Leo X. that he conferred upon Henry the title of *Defender of the Faith*. Sensible therefore of his importance, as the chief pillar of the church, at a time when it stood in much need of support, he confidently applied to Clement VII. the reigning pontiff, for a dissolution of his marriage with Catharine.

The pope seemed at first favourable to Henry's inclinations; but his dread of displeasing the emperor, whose prisoner he had lately been, prevented him from coming to any fixed determination. He at last, however, empowered Campeggio and Wolsey, his two legates in England, to try the validity of the king's marriage. They A. D. 1529.

accordingly opened their court at London, and proceeded to the examination of the matter. The firſt point which came before them, and that which Henry wanted chiefly to eſtabliſh, was Arthur's conſummation of his marriage with Catharine; and although the queen proteſted that her virgin honour was yet untainted, when the king received her into his bed, and even appealed to his Grace (the title then taken by our kings) for the truth of her aſſeveration, ſtronger proofs than were produced could not be expected of ſuch a fact, after ſo long an interval. But when the buſineſs ſeemed drawing near to a cloſe, and while Henry was in anxious expectation of a ſentence in his favour, all his hopes were ſuddenly blaſted. Campeggio, on the moſt frivolous pretences, prorogued the court; and Clement, at the interceſſion of the emperor, revoked the cauſe ſoon after to Rome[5].

This fineſſe occaſioned the fall of Wolſey. Anne Boleyn imputed to him the failure of her expectations, and Henry, who entertained the higheſt opinion of the cardinal's capacity, aſcribed his miſcarriage in the preſent undertaking, not to misfortune or miſtake, but to the malignity or infidelity of that miniſter. The great ſeal was taken from him, and given to ſir Thomas More, a man of learning, virtue, and capacity. He was indicted in the Star-Chamber; his lands and goods were declared forfeited; his houſes and furniture were ſeized; he was pronounced without the protection of the laws, and his perſon liable to be committed to cuſtody[6]. The king's heart, however, relented, and the proſecution was carried no farther; but the cardinal was ordered to remove from court, and his final ruin was hanging over him.

5. Herbert. Burnet, ubi ſup.

6. Strype. Cavendiſh. The richneſs of Wolſey's furniture was ſuch as muſt aſtoniſh even the preſent age. The principal apartments of his palace were lined with cloth of gold, or cloth of ſilver; he had a ſide-board of plate of maſſy gold; and every other article for domeſtic uſe or ornament, was proportionably ſumptuous. Ibid.

The parliament laid hold of the present opportunity to pass several bills, restraining the impositions of the clergy; and Henry was not displeased, that the pope and his whole militia, should be made sensible of their dependence upon him, and of the willingness of his subjects, if he was so disposed, to reduce the power and privileges of ecclesiastics. Amid the anxieties with which he was agitated, he was often tempted to break off all connexion with Rome: and Anne Boleyn used every insinuation, in order to make him proceed to extremities with Clement; both as the readiest and surest means of her exaltation to the royal dignity, and of spreading the new doctrines, in which she had been initiated under the duchess of Alençon, a warm friend to the Reformation. But Henry, notwithstanding these inducements, had still many reasons to desire a good agreement with the sovereign pontiff. Having been educated in a superstitious veneration for the holy see, he dreaded the reproach of heresy; and he abhorred all alliance with the Lutherans, the chief opponents of the papal power, because Luther, their apostle, had handled him roughly, in an answer to his book in defence of the Romish communion.

While Henry was fluctuating between these contrary opinions, two of his courtiers fell accidentally, one evening, into company with Dr. Thomas Cranmer, fellow of Jesus college, in Cambridge, a man distinguished by his learning, but still more by his candour; and as the affair of the divorce became the subject of conversation, he observed, that the best way, either to quiet the king's conscience or obtain the pope's consent, would be to consult all the universities in Europe with regard to that controverted point. When Henry was informed of this proposal, he A. D. 1530. was delighted with it, and swore with great violence, "By "God! Cranmer has got the right sow by the ear." The doctor was immediately sent for, and taken into favour; the

universities were consulted, according to his advice; and all of them declared the king's marriage invalid [7].

Clement, however, lying still under the influence of the emperor, continued inflexible; and as Henry was sensible, that the extremities to which he was pushed, both against the pope and the ecclesiastical order, must be disagreeable to Wolsey, whose opposition he dreaded, he renewed the prosecution against his ancient favourite.

The cardinal, after his disgrace, had remained for some time at Richmond; but being ordered to remove to his see of York, he took up his residence at Cawood, in Yorkshire, where he rendered himself extremely popular in the neighbourhood, by his affability and hospitality. In this retreat he lived, when the earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and conduct him to London, as a prelude to his trial. On his journey he was seized with a disorder, which turned into a dysentery; and it was with much difficulty that he was able to reach Leicester-abbey. "I am come to lay my bones among you," said Wolsey to the abbot and monks, who came out to receive him; and he immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. "O had I but served my God," cried he, a little before he expired, "as diligently as I have served my king, he "would not have deserted me in my grey hairs [8]." His treason, indeed, seems rather to have been against the people than the prince, or even the state; for although the violence and obstinacy of Henry's character ought perhaps to apologize for many of the cardinal's public measures, his continued extortions upon the subject, by the most iniquitous methods, in what he called his Legantine court, admit of no alleviation.

Thus freed from a person whom he considered as an obstacle in the way of his inclinations, and supported by the

7. Herbert. Burnet. 8. Cavendish.

opinion

opinion of the learned in the ſtep which he intended to take, Henry ordered a parliament, together with a convocation, to meet; in which he was acknowledged, "the "Protector and ſupreme Head of the Church and "Clergy of England." And being now fully determined in his own mind relative to a matter which had long engaged his thoughts, and reſolved to adminiſter eccleſiaſtical affairs without having farther recourſe to Rome, as well as to abide all conſequences, he privately celebrated his marriage with Anne Boleyn, whom he had previouſly created marchioneſs of Pembroke.

A. D. 1531.

A. D. 1532.

Cranmer, now become archbiſhop of Canterbury, annulled ſoon after the king's marriage with Catharine (a ſtep which ought to have preceded his ſecond nuptials), and ratified that with Anne, who was publicly crowned queen, with all the pomp and dignity ſuited to ſuch a ceremony [9]. And, to complete the ſatisfaction of Henry on the concluſion of this troubleſome buſineſs, the queen was ſafely delivered of a daughter, who received the name of Elizabeth, and whom we ſhall afterwards ſee ſwaying the Engliſh ſceptre with equal glory to herſelf and happineſs to her people.

A. D. 1533.

When intelligence was conveyed to Rome of theſe tranſactions, the conclave was all in a rage, and the pope was urged by the cardinals of the imperial faction, to dart his ſpiritual thunders againſt Henry. But Clement was ſtill unwilling to proceed to extremities: he only declared Cranmer's ſentence null, and threatened the king with excommunication, if he did not put things in their former condition, before a day named. In the mean time Henry was prevailed upon, by the mediation of the king of France, to ſubmit his cauſe to the Roman conſiſtory, provided the cardinals of the Imperial faction were excluded from it. The pope conſented; and promiſed, that if the king would ſign a written

9. Heylin.

agreement to this purpose, his demands should be fully complied with. But on what slight incidents often depend the greatest events! The courier appointed to carry the king's written promise, was detained beyond the day fixed; news arrived at Rome, that a libel had been published in London against the Holy See, and a farce acted before the king in derision of the apostolic body[10]. The pope and cardinals entered into the consistory inflamed with rage; the marriage between Henry and Catharine was pronounced valid; the king was declared excommunicated, if he refused to adhere to it, and the rupture with England was rendered final.

The English parliament, assembled soon after this decision of the court of Rome, conferred on the king the title of "The *only supreme* HEAD of the Church "of England *upon Earth*," as they had already invested him with all the real power belonging to it; a measure of the utmost consequence to the kingdom, whether considered in a civil or ecclesiastical view, and which forms a memorable æra in our constitution. The legislature, by thus acknowledging the king's supremacy in ecclesiastical matters, and uniting the spiritual with the civil power, introduced greater simplicity into government, and prevented all future disputes about the limits of contending jurisdictions. A door was also opened for checking the exorbitances of superstition, and breaking those shackles, by which human reason, policy, and industry had so long been circumscribed; for, as a profound historian has justly observed, the prince being head of the religious, as well as of the temporal jurisdiction of the kingdom, though he might sometimes be tempted to employ the former as an engine of government, could have no interest, like the Roman pontiff, in encouraging its usurpations[11].

A. D. 1534.

But England, though thus happily released from the oppressive jurisdiction of the pope, was far from enjoying religious freedom. Liberty of conscience was, if possible,

10. Father Paul, lib. i.

11. Hume, *Hist. Eng.* chap. xxx.

more

more confined than ever. Henry not only retained his aversion against Luther and his doctrines, but so many of his early prejudices hung about him, that the idea of heresy still filled him with horror. Separate as he stood from the Catholic church, he continued to value himself on maintaining its dogmas, and on guarding with fire and sword the imaginary purity of his speculative opinions. All who denied the king's supremacy, the legitimacy of his daughter Elizabeth, or who embraced the tenets of the reformers, were equally the objects of his vengeance. Among the latter were many unhappy persons, who had greedily imbibed the Lutheran doctrines, during Henry's quarrel with Rome, in hopes of a total change of worship: and who having gone too far to recede, fell martyrs to their new faith. Among the former were Fisher, bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More, late chancellor, who refused to acknowledge the king's supremacy, and died upon the scaffold with heroic constancy. More, who was a man of a gay humour, retained even his facetiousness to the last. When he laid his head on the block, and saw the executioner ready with his weapon, "Stay, friend," said he, "till I put aside "my beard;" for, added he, "it never committed treason [12]." What pity, and what an instance of the inconsistency of human nature, that the man who could make a jest of death, should make a matter of conscience of the pope's supremacy!

A. D. 1535.

Although Henry thus punished both Protestants and Catholics, his most dangerous enemies, he was sensible, were the zealous adherents to the ancient religion, and more especially the monks, who having their immediate dependence on the Roman pontiff, apprehended their own ruin to be the certain consequence of abolishing his authority in England. The king therefore determined to suppress the monasteries, as so many nurseries of rebellion, as well as of idleness, supersti-

12. *Life of Sir Thomas More.* Fox. Herbert.

tion, and folly, and to put himself in possession of their ample revenues. In order to effectuate this robbery with some colour of justice, he appointed commissioners to visit all religious houses; and these men, acquainted with the king's design, brought reports, whether true or false, of such frightful disorders, lewdness, ignorance, priest-craft, and unnatural lusts, as filled the nation with horror against institutions held sacred by their ancestors, and lately objects of the most profound veneration. The lesser monasteries, said to have been the most corrupted, to the number of three hundred and seventy-six, were at once suppressed by parliament; and their revenues, goods, chattels, and plate, were granted to the king[13].

A. D. 1536.

The convocation, which sat at the same time with the parliament, passed a vote for a new translation of the Bible, none being yet published, by authority, in the English language; and the Reformation seemed fast gaining ground in the kingdom, though the king still declared himself its enemy, when its promoters, Cranmer, Latimer, and others, met with a severe mortification, which seemed to blast all their hopes, in the untimely fate of their patroness, Anne Boleyn.

This lady now began to experience the decay of the king's affections, and the capriciousness of his temper. That heart whose allegiance she had withdrawn from another, revolted at last against herself. Henry's passion, which had subsisted in full force, during the six years that the prosecution of the divorce lasted, and seemed only to increase under difficulties, had scarcely attained possession of its object, when it sunk into languor, succeeded by disgust. His love was suddenly transferred to a new mistress. The charms of Jane Seymour, maid of honour to the queen, a young lady of exquisite beauty, had entirely captivated him; and as he appeared to have had little idea of any other connexion than that of marriage, he thought of nothing but how to raise her to his bed and throne.

13. Burnet.

This

This peculiarity in Henry's disposition, proceeding from an indolence of temper, or an aversion against the vice of gallantry, involved him in crimes of a blacker dye, and in greater anxieties, than those which he sought to avoid by forming a legal connexion. Before he could marry Jane, it was necessary to get rid of his once beloved Anne, now become a bar in the way of his felicity. That obstacle, however, was soon removed. The heart is not more ingenious in suggesting apologies for its deviations, than courtiers in finding expedients for gratifying the inclinations of their prince. The queen's enemies, among Henry's courtiers, immediately sensible of the alienation of the king's affections, accomplished her ruin by flattering his new passion. They represented that freedom of manner, which Anne had acquired in France, as a dissolute levity: they indirectly accused her of a criminal correspondence with several gentlemen of the bedchamber, and even with her own brother! and they extolled the virtues of Jane Seymour [14]. Henry believed all, because he wished to be convinced. The queen was committed to the Tower; impeached, brought to trial; condemned without evidence, and executed without remorse. History affords us no reason to call her innocence in question; and the king, by marrying her known rival the day after her execution, made the motives of his conduct sufficiently evident, and left the world in little doubt about the iniquity of her sentence.

If farther arguments, my dear Philip, should be thought necessary in support of the innocence of the unfortunate Anne Boleyn, her serenity, and even chearfulness, while under confinement and sentence of death, ought to have its weight, as it is perhaps unexampled in a woman, and could not well be the associate of guilt. "Never prince," says she, in a letter to Henry, "had wife more loyal in all duty, and in all true "affection, than you have ever found in Anne Boleyn:

14. Strype. Burnet.

"with

"with which name and place I could willingly have contented myſelf, if God, and your grace's pleaſure had been ſo pleaſed: neither did I at any time ſo far forget myſelf in my exaltation, or received queenſhip, but that I always looked for ſuch an alteration as I now find; for the ground of my preferment being on no ſurer foundation than your grace's fancy, the leaſt alteration I knew was fit and ſufficient to draw that fancy to ſome other object." In another letter to the king, ſhe ſays, "you have raiſed me from a private gentlewoman to a marchioneſs; from a marchioneſs to a queen; and ſince you can exalt me no higher in this world, you are reſolved to ſend me to heaven, that I may become a ſaint!" This gaiety continued to the laſt. The morning of her cataſtrophe, converſing with the lieutenant of the Tower on what ſhe was going to ſuffer, he endeavoured to comfort her by the ſhortneſs of its duration. "The executioner indeed," replied ſhe, "I am told is very expert; and I have but a ſlender neck;" graſping it with her hand and ſmiling[15]. The queen's brother, and three gentlemen of the bed chamber, alſo fell victims to the king's ſuſpicions; or rather were ſacrificed to hallow his nuptials with Jane Seymour.

The Catholics, who had been the chief inſtruments of theſe tragical events, did not reap ſo much advantage from the fall of queen Anne as they expected. The friends of the Reformation ſtill maintained their credit with the king; and articles of faith were drawn up by the convocation under Henry's eye, more favourable to the new than the old religion, but ſtill more conformable to the ideas of the royal theologiſt, than agreeable to the partizans of either. Prudence, however, taught the Proteſtants to be ſilent, and to reſt ſatisfied with the ground which they had gained. The diſappointed Catholics were leſs quiet. The late innovations, particularly the diſſolution of the ſmaller monaſteries, and the imminent

15. Ibid.

danger

danger to which all the reſt were expoſed, had bred diſcontents among the people. The Romiſh religion, ſuited to vulgar capacity, took hold of the multitude by powerful motives: they were intereſted for the ſouls of their forefathers, which they believed muſt now lie during many ages in the torments of purgatory, for want of maſſes to relieve them. The expelled monks, wandering about the country, encouraged theſe prejudices, to rouſe the populace to rebellion; and they aſſembled in large bodies in different parts of the kingdom; particularly in Lincolnſhire and the northern counties. But by the prudent conduct of the duke of Norfolk, who commanded the king's forces, and who ſecretly favoured the cauſe of the rebels, but not their rebellious meaſures, tranquillity was happily reſtored to the kingdom, with little effuſion of blood[16].

The ſuppreſſion of theſe inſurrections was followed by an event which completed Henry's domeſtic felicity; the birth of a ſon, who was baptized under the name of Edward. But this happineſs was not without allay: the queen died two days after. A ſon, however, had been ſo long, and ſo ardently deſired by Henry, and was now become ſo neceſſary, in order to prevent diſputes with regard to the ſucceſſion, the two princeſſes being declared illegitimate, that the king's ſorrow was drowned in his joy. And his authority being thus confirmed at home, and his conſideration increaſed abroad, he carried into execution a meaſure on which he had been long reſolved, the utter deſtruction of the monaſteries. A. D. 1537.

The better to reconcile the minds of the people to this great innovation, the impoſtures of the monks were zealouſly brought to light. Among the ſacred repoſitories of convents, were found the parings of St. Edmund's toes; ſome coals that roaſted St. Laurence; the girdle of the bleſſed Virgin, ſhewn in eleven different places; two or three heads of St. Urſula; and part of St. Thomas of A. D. 1538.

16. Herbert.

Canterbury's

Canterbury's shirt, much reverenced by big-bellied women. Some impostures of a more artificial nature also were discovered; particularly a miraculous crucifix, which had been kept at Boxley in Kent, and bore the appellation of the *Rood of Grace*, the eyes, lips, and head of which moved on the approach of its votaries. The crucifix was publicly broke at St. Paul's-cross, and the springs and wheels by which it had been secretly moved were shewn to the whole people. The shrine of St. Thomas à Becket, commonly called St. Thomas of Canterbury, was likewise destroyed, and seemingly deservedly, though much to the regret of the populace. So superstitious was the veneration for this saint, that it appeared in one year, not a penny had been offered at God's altar; at the Virgin's only four pounds one shilling and eight-pence; but at that of St. Thomas, nine hundred and fifty-four pounds six shillings and three-pence [17].

The exposure of such enormous absurdities and impieties took off much of the odium from a measure in itself rapacious, violent, and unjust. The acquiescence of the nobility and gentry was farther procured by grants of the revenues of convents, or leases of them at a reduced rent: and the minds of the people were quieted by being told, that the king would have no farther occasion to levy taxes, but would be able, during war as well as peace, to bear from the abbey-lands the whole expence of government [18]. Henry also settled pensions on the ejected monks, and erected six new bishopricks; which silenced the murmurs of such of the secular clergy as were not altogether wedded to the Romish communion.

After renouncing the pope's supremacy, and suppressing monasteries, the spirit of opposition, it was thought, would lead the king to declare war against the whole doctrine and worship, as well as discipline of the church of Rome. But although Henry, since he came to the years of maturity, had

17. Burnet. Herbert. Godwin. Stowe.

18. Coke, *Inst.* fol. 44.

been gradually changing the tenets of that theological syſtem in which he had been educated, he was no leſs dogmatical in the few which yet remained to him, than if the whole fabric had been preſerved entire; and ſo great was his ſcholaſtic arrogance, though he ſtood alone in his belief, that he thought himſelf entitled to regulate by his own particular ſtandard the religious faith of the nation. The chancellor was accordingly ordered to open the parliament A. D. 1539. with informing them, that it was his majeſty's earneſt deſire to extirpate from his kingdom all diverſity of opinion in matters of religion. In conſequence of this deſire, a bill, conſiſting of ſix articles, called by the Proteſtants the *Bloody Bill*, was drawn up according to the king's ideas; and having paſſed through both houſes, received the royal aſſent. In this ſtatute was eſtabliſhed the doctrine of the real preſence, or tranſubſtantiation; the communion in one kind, or with bread only; the perpetual obligation of vows of chaſtity; the utility of private maſſes; the celibacy of the clergy, and the neceſſity of auricular confeſſion. The violation of either of theſe articles was made puniſhable with death; and a denial of the real preſence, to the diſgrace of common-ſenſe, could not be atoned for by the moſt humble recantation [19]: an inſtance of ſeverity unknown even to the inquiſition!

The affairs of religion being thus ſettled, the king began to think of a new wife; and as the duke of Cleves had great intereſt with the princes of the Smalcaldic league, whoſe alliance was conſidered as advantageous to England, Henry ſolicited in marriage Anne, daughter of that duke. A flattering picture of this princeſs, drawn by Hans Holbein, co-operated with theſe political motives to determine the king in his choice; and Anne was ſent over to England. But Henry, though fond of large women, no ſooner ſaw her, than (ſo devoid was ſhe of beauty and grace!) he ſwore ſhe was

19. *Stat.* 31 *Henry VIII*, cap. xiv.

a great Flanders mare, and declared he never could bear her any affection. He resolved however to consummate his marriage, notwithstanding his dislike, sensible that a contrary conduct would be highly resented by her friends and family. He therefore told Cromwell, his minister since the death of Wolsey, and who had been instrumental in forming the match, that "as matters had gone so far, "he must put his neck into the yoke."

A. D. 1540.

But although political considerations had induced Henry to consummate, at least in appearance, his marriage with Anne of Cleves, they could not save him from disgust. His aversion against her increased every day; and Cromwell, though still seemingly in favour, saw his own ruin, and the queen's disgrace, fast approaching. An unforeseen cause accelerated both. The king had fixed his affections on Catharine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk; and, as usual, he determined to gratify his passion, by making her his royal consort. The duke, who had long been at enmity with Cromwell, made use of his niece's insinuations against that minister, who was a promoter of the Reformation, as he formerly had of those of Anne Boleyn against Wolsey. Cromwell was accused of heresy and treason, committed to the Tower, condemned and executed [20]. He was a man of low birth, but worthy, by his integrity and abilities, of the high station to which he was raised; worthy of a better master and a better fate.

The measures for divorcing Henry from Anne of Cleves were carried forward at the same time with the bill of attainder against Cromwell. Henry pleaded, that when he espoused Anne, he had not *inwardly* given his consent; and that, notwithstanding the near approach he had made, he had not thought proper to *consummate* the marriage. The convocation sustained these reasons, and solemnly annulled the en-

20. Burnet, vol. i.

gagements

gagements between the king and queen. The parliament, ever obsequious to Henry's will, ratified the decision of the church.

The marriage of the king with Catharine Howard, which followed soon after his divorce from Anne of Cleves, was regarded as a favourable incident by the Catholic party; and the subsequent events corresponded with their expectations. The king's councils being now directed by the duke of Norfolk and bishop Gardiner, a furious persecution was begun against the Protestants. The *Law of the Six Articles*, which Cromwell had, on all occasions, taken care to soften, was executed with rigour; and Dr. Barnes, and several other clergymen, were prosecuted, and brought to the stake.

But Henry's attention was soon turned to prosecutions of a very different kind; and on a subject which affected him still more sensibly than even the violation of his favourite theological statute. He had thought himself extremely happy in his new consort. The elegant person, and agreeable manners of Catharine, had entirely captivated his heart; and he had publicly, in his chapel, returned thanks to Heaven for the felicity which the conjugal state afforded him. This happiness, however, was of short duration. It disappeared like a gaudy meteor, almost as soon as perceived; and its loss afflicted the king the more keenly, by reason of the circumstances with which it was accompanied. It not only vanished on a point which intimately concerned his peace, but on which he peculiarly valued himself, his skill in distinguishing a true maid. It at once wounded his pride and his passion. The queen had led a dissolute life before marriage. She had abandoned herself to the footmen of her grandmother, the old duchess of Norfolk, while her maid was in the same chamber, and even along with her in the same bed. The proofs of this licentiousness were positive. There was also room to believe, notwithstanding her declaration to the contrary, that she had not been faithful to the king's bed; for it appeared, that one

A. D. 1541.

Colepepper

Colepepper had passed the night with her alone since her marriage, and that she had taken Derham, one of her old paramours, into her service [21].

When these proofs of Catharine's incontinence were laid before Henry, he was so deeply affected, that he remained for some moments speechless, and at last burst into tears. The natural ferocity of his temper, however, soon returned; and he assembled a parliament, the usual instrument of his tyranny, in order to satiate his vengeance.

A. D. 1542.

A bill of attainder was voted against the queen and the viscountess of Rochford, who had conducted her criminal amours. A singular bill was also passed at the same time, making it treason in any person to conceal the incontinence of a queen of England; and farther enacting, That if a king of England should marry any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a true maid, she likewise should be deemed guilty of treason, in case she did not previously reveal her shame to him—And the queen and lady Rochford were beheaded on Tower-hill, though their guilt had preceded the framing of that statute [22].

Having got over this troublesome business, Henry again turned his attention to the affairs of religion; altering several times the national creed, according to his own capricious humour. And he turned his arms against his nephew, James V. of Scotland, because that prince had refused to imitate his conduct, in throwing off the jurisdiction of the pope.

The principles of the Reformation had already found their way into Scotland. Several persons there had fallen martyrs to the new faith: and the nobility, invited by the example of England, had cast a wishful eye on the ecclesiastical revenues; hoping, if a change in religion should take place, to enrich themselves with the plunder of the church. But the king, though very poor, not superstitious, and somewhat inclined to magnificence, fortified by the arguments of the

21. Id. Ibid. 22. Burnet, ubi sup.

clergy,

clergy, and guided by the inclinations of his queen, a daughter of the duke of Guise, resisted every temptation to such robbery, and continued faithful to the see of Rome. This respect for the rights of the church proved fatal to James, and brought many miseries on his kingdom, both before and after his death.

Had the king of Scotland flattered the pride of Henry, by following his example in ecclesiastical affairs, he would have been supported in his measures with the whole force of England; whereas he now had that force to oppose, and a dissatisfied people to rule. Flushed, however, with an advantage gained over a detachment from the English army by lord Hume, he marched at the head of thirty thousand men to meet their main body, commanded by the duke of Norfolk, who had advanced as far as Kelso; and as that nobleman retreated on the approach of the Scottish army, the king resolved to enter England, and take vengeance on the invaders. But his nobility, dissatisfied on account of the preference shewn to the clergy, opposed his resolution, and refused to attend him. Equally enraged and surprised at this mutiny, he reproached them with cowardice, he threatened punishment; and still determined to make some impression on the enemy's country with the forces that adhered to him, he dispatched ten thousand men to ravage the western border. They entered England near Solway Frith, while he himself followed, at a small distance, ready to join them upon occasion.

Aug. 24.

But this expedition also proved unsuccessful, and even highly unfortunate: and from a cause allied to that which had ruined the former enterprize. The king of Scotland, become peevish by disappointment, and diffident of all his nobility, deprived lord Maxwell of the command of the army, and conferred it on Oliver Sinclair, a private gentleman. The Scots, displeased with this alteration, were preparing to disband; when a small body of English forces appearing,

they ſuddenly took to flight, and were all either killed or made priſoners [23].

This diſaſter had ſuch an effect on the haughty mind of James, that he would admit of no counſel or conſolation, but abandoned himſelf wholly to deſpair. All the paſſions that are inimical to human life, ſhame, rage, and deſpondency, took hold of him at once. His body waſted daily by ſympathiſing with his anxious mind; and he was brought to the verge of the grave, when his queen was ſafely delivered of the celebrated and unfortunate Mary Stuart. Having no former iſſue living, he anxiouſly inquired whether his conſort had brought him a ſon or a daughter, and being told, a daughter, he turned himſelf in his bed, and ſaid, "The crown "came with a woman, and it will go with a woman! Many "woes await this unhappy kingdom: Henry will "make it his own either by force of arms or by marriage." He expired ſoon after uttering theſe ſorrowful words.

Dec. 14.

What James had foretold came in part to paſs. Henry was no ſooner informed of the victory at Solway, and the death of his nephew, than he formed the project of uniting Scotland to his own dominions, by marrying prince Edward, his only ſon, to the heireſs of that kingdom. For this purpoſe he called together ſuch of the Scottiſh nobility as were his priſoners, and offered them their liberty without ranſom, provided they would ſecond his views. They readily agreed to a propoſal ſo favourable to themſelves, and which ſeemed ſo natural, and ſo advantageous to both kingdoms; and by their means, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of cardinal Beaton, archbiſhop of St. Andrews, who had placed himſelf at the head of the regency, by forging a will in the name of the late king, the parliament of Scotland conſented to a treaty of marriage and union with England [24].

A. D. 1543.

23. Buchanan, lib. xiv. Hume, chap. xxxiii.
24. Id. Ibid. See alſo Sir Ralph Sadler's *Letters*.

The

The ſtipulations in that treaty, it would be of little conſequence to enumerate, as they were never executed.

Henry now finding himſelf at peace with all his neighbours, began to look out for another wife; and by eſpouſing Catharine Par, relict of lord Latimer, he confirmed what had been foretold in jeſt, that he would be obliged to marry a widow, as no reputed maid would ever be perſuaded to incur the penalty of his ſtatute reſpecting virginity. Catharine was a woman of virtue and good ſenſe: and though ſomewhat inclined to promote the Reformation, a circumſtance which gave great joy to the Proteſtant party, ſhe delivered her ſentiments with much caution in regard to the new doctrines. Henry, however, whoſe favourite topic of converſation was theology, by engaging her frequently in religious diſputes, found means to diſcover her real principles; and his unwieldly corpulence and ill health having ſoured his temper, and increaſed the ſeverity of his naturally paſſionate and tyrannical diſpoſition, he ordered an impeachment to be drawn up againſt her. And the greateſt prudence and addreſs only could have ſaved her from the block.

Having happily got information of the king's diſpleaſure, Catharine replied, when he next offered to converſe with her on theological ſubjects, that ſuch profound ſpeculations were little ſuited to the natural imbecility of her ſex; obſerving, at the ſame time, that though ſhe declined not diſcourſe on any topic, however ſublime, when propoſed by his majeſty, ſhe well knew that her conceptions could ſerve no other purpoſe than to afford him a momentary amuſement; that ſhe found converſation apt to languiſh when not revived by ſome oppoſition, and had ventured, at times, to feign a contrariety of ſentiment, in order to afford him the pleaſure of refuting her. And ſhe ingeniouſly added, that ſhe alſo propoſed by this innocent artifice to engage the king in arguments, whence ſhe had obſerved, by frequent experience, that ſhe reaped much profit and inſtruction. "And is it ſo, ſweetheart?" ſaid Henry; "then we are

A. D. 1646.

 "friends

"friends again!" embracing her tenderly, and assuring her of his affection. The chancellor, however, ignorant of this reconciliation, came next day to arrest Catharine, pursuant to the king's warrant, but was dismissed by Henry with the opprobrious appellations of *knave*, *fool*, and *beast*[25]. So violent and capricious was the temper of that prince!

But although the queen was so fortunate as to appease Henry's resentment against herself, she could not save those whom she most respected. Catharine and Cranmer excepted, the king punished with unfeeling rigour all others, who presumed to differ from him in religious opinions; but more especially in the capital tenet, transubstantiation. Among the unhappy victims committed to the flames for denying that absurd doctrine, was Anne Ascue, a young woman of singular beauty and merit, connected with the principal ladies at court, and even with the queen. She died with great tranquillity and fortitude, refusing to earn, by recantation, a pardon, though offered her at the stake[26].

Nor did Henry's tyrannical and persecuting spirit confine its vengeance to religious offenders: it was no less severe against such as excited his political jealousy. Amongst these were the duke of Norfolk and his gallant son the earl of Surrey. The duke had rendered considerable services to the crown; and although understood to be the head of the Catholic party, he had always conformed to the religion of the court. He had acquired an immense fortune in consequence of the favours bestowed upon him by Henry, and was confessedly the first subject in England. That eminence drew upon him the king's jealousy. As Henry found his death approaching, he was afraid that Norfolk might disturb the government during his son's minority, or alter his religious system.

The earl of Surrey was a young nobleman of the most promising hopes, distinguished by every accomplishment

25. Burnet, vol. i. Herbert, p. 560. Fox, *Acts and Monuments*. vol. ii.
26. Id. Ibid.

which

which could adorn a scholar, a courtier, or a soldier of that age. But he did not always regulate his conduct by the caution and reserve which his situation required: and as he had declined all proposals of marriage among the nobility, Henry imagined that he entertained hopes of espousing his eldest daughter, the princess Mary. The suspicion of such a dangerous ambition was enough. Both he and his father, the duke of Norfolk, were committed to the Tower; tried for high treason, and condemned to suffer death, without any evidence of guilt being produced against either of them; unless that the earl had quartered the arms of Edward the Confessor on his scutcheon which was considered as a proof of his aspiring to the crown, although the practice and privilege of so doing had been openly avowed by himself, and maintained by his ancestors. Surrey was immediately executed, and an order was issued for the execution of Norfolk; but the king's death happening in the interval, nothing farther was done in the matter [27]. A. D. 1547.

Henry's health had long been declining, and his approaching dissolution had been foreseen by all around him for some days; but as it had been declared treason to foretel the king's death, no one durst inform him of his condition, lest he should, in the first transports of his fury, order the author of such intelligence to immediate punishment. Sir Anthony Denny, however, at last ventured to make known to him the awful truth. He signified his resignation, and desired that Cranmer might be sent for. The primate came, though not before the king was speechless; but as he still seemed to retain his senses, Cranmer desired him to give some sign of his dying in the faith of Christ. He squeezed the primate's hand, and immediately expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age, and thirty-eighth of his reign [28]; affording, in his end, a striking example, that composure in the hour of death is not the inseparable characteristic of a life well-spent, nor

27. Burnet, vol. i. Fox, vol. ii.

28. Burnet. Herbert. Fuller.

vengeance in this world the universal fate of blood-thirsty tyrants. Happily we know, that there is a state beyond the grave, where all accounts will be settled, and a tribunal before which every one must answer for the deeds done in the flesh; otherwise we should be apt to conclude, from seeing the same things happen to the just and to the unjust, to the cruel and the merciful, that there was no eye in heaven that regarded the actions of man, nor any arm to punish.

But the history of this reign, my dear Philip, yields other lessons than those of a speculative morality; lessons which come home to the breast of every Englishman, and which he ought to remember every moment of his existence. It teaches us the most alarming of all political truths; "That absolute despotism may prevail in a state, and yet the "form of a free constitution remain." Nay, it even leads us to a conjecture still more interesting to Britons, "That "in this country, an ambitious prince may most successfully "exercise his tyrannies under the shelter of those barriers "which the constitution has placed as the security of na-"tional freedom; of our lives, our liberty, and our pro-"perty."

Henry changed the national religion, and, in a great measure, the spirit of the laws of England. He perpetrated the most enormous violences against the first men in the kingdom; he loaded the people with oppressive taxes, and he pillaged them by loans, which it was known he never meant to repay; but he never attempted to abolish the parliament, or even to retrench any of its doubtful privileges. The parliament was the prime minister of his tyrannical administration. It authorised his oppressive taxes, and absolved him from the payment of his debts: it gave its sanction to his most despotic and sanguinary measures; to measures, which, of himself, he durst not have carried into execution; or which, if supposed to be merely the result of his own arbitrary will, would have roused the spirit of the nation to assert the rights of humanity, and the privileges

of

of a free people: and law would have been given to the tyrant's power, or ſome arm would have been found bold enough to rid the world of ſuch a ſcourge, by carrying vengeance to his heart.

The concluſion which I mean to draw from theſe facts and reaſonings is, and it deſerves our moſt ſerious attention, That the Britiſh conſtitution, though ſo happily poiſed, that no one part of it ſeems to preponderate; though ſo admirably conſtructed that every one of the three eſtates is a check upon each of the other two, and both houſes of parliament upon the crown; though the moſt rational and perfect ſyſtem of freedom that human wiſdom has framed, it is no poſitive ſecurity againſt the deſpotiſm of an artful or tyrannical prince; and that, if Britons ſhould ever become ſlaves, ſuch an event is not likely to happen, as in France, by the abolition of our national aſſembly, but by the corruption of its members; by making that proud bulwark of our liberty, as in ancient Rome, the means of our ſlavery. Our admirable conſtitution is but a gay curtain to conceal our ſhame, and the iniquity of our oppreſſors, unleſs our ſenators are animated by the ſame ſpirit which gave it birth. If they can be over-awed by threats, ſeduced from their duty by bribes, or allured by promiſes, another Henry may rule us with a rod of iron, and drench once more the ſcaffold with the beſt blood of the nation: the parliament will be the humble and ſecure inſtrument of his tyrannies.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to the continent, where we left Charles V. attempting that deſpotiſm which Henry VIII. had accompliſhed.

LETTER LXI.

A General View of the Continent of EUROPE, *including the Progress of the* REFORMATION *in* GERMANY, *from the first Meeting of the* COUNCIL *of* TRENT, *in* 1546, *to the* PEACE *of* RELIGION *concluded at* PASSAU, *in* 1552.

IN consequence of the resolution of the emperor Charles V. to humble the Protestant princes, his chief motive, as has been observed, for concluding a disadvantageous peace with Francis I. he sent ambassadors to Constantinople, and concluded a dishonourable truce with Solyman II.

A. D. 1546.

He stipulated, that his brother Ferdinand should pay an annual tribute to the Porte for that part of Hungary which still acknowledged his sway, and that the sultan should retain the imperial and undisturbed possession of the other[1]. Charles at the same time entered into an alliance with Paul III. the reigning pontiff, for the extirpation of heresy; or, in other words, for oppressing the liberties of Germany, under pretence of maintaining the jurisdiction of the Holy See.

Meanwhile a general council had been assembled at Trent, by the authority of the pope, in order to regulate the affairs of religion. But the Protestants, though they had appealed to a general council, refused to acknowledge the legality of this, which they were sensible was convoked to condemn, not to examine their opinions. The proceedings of the council confirmed them in this resolution; they therefore renounced all connection with it; and as they had discovered the emperor's ambitious views, they began to prepare for their own defence.

The emperor, whose schemes were not yet ripe for exe-

1. Barre. tom. viii. *Mem. de Ribier.*

cu ion,

cution, though much chagrined at this obstinacy, smothered his resentment; and, in order to gain time, he attempted anew that dissimulation which he had so often practised with success. He assured, and endeavoured to persuade the princes of the Smalkaldic league, that he had no design to abridge their spiritual liberty. It being impossible, however, to conceal his military preparations, he declared, That he took arms, not in a religious, but in a civil quarrel; not to oppress those who continued to behave as quiet and dutiful subjects, but to humble the arrogance of such as had thrown off all sense of that subordination in which they were placed under him, as the head of the Germanic body. But the substance of his treaty with the pope, coming to light, these artifices did not long impose on the greater and sounder part of the Protestant confederacy. Its more intelligent members saw, that not only the suppression of the reformed religion, but the extinction of the German liberties was intended; and as they determined neither to renounce those sacred truths, the knowledge of which they had attained by means so wonderful, nor to abandon those civil rights which had been transmitted to them from their ancestors, they had immediately recourse to arms[2].

In the meantime the death of Luther, their great apostle, threw the German Protestants into much consternation, and filled the Catholics with excessive and even indecent joy; neither party reflecting, that his opinions were now so firmly rooted, as to stand in no farther need of his fostering hand. The members of the Smalkaldic league were also discouraged by the little success of their negociations with foreign courts; having applied in vain for assistance, not only to the republic of Venice, and to the Swiss cantons, but to the kings of France and England. But they found at home no difficulty in bringing a sufficient force into the field.

2. Sleid. Thuan. Father Paul.

Germany abounded at that time in inhabitants. The feudal institutions subsisted in full force, and enabled the nobles to call out their numerous vassals, and to put them in motion on the shortest warning. The martial spirit of the people, not broken or enervated by the introduction of commerce and arts, had acquired additional vigour during the continual wars in which they had been employed, for half a century, either by the emperors or the kings of France. On every opportunity of entering upon action, they were accustomed to run eagerly to arms: and to every standard that was erected, volunteers flocked from all quarters. Zeal seconded on this occasion their native ardour. Men, on whom the doctrines of the Reformation had made that deep impression which accompanies truth when first discovered, prepared to maintain it with proportional courage; and among a warlike people, it appeared infamous to remain inactive, when the defence of religion and liberty were the motives for drawing the sword. The confederates were therefore able, in a few weeks, to assemble an army of seventy thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, provided with every thing necessary for the operations of war[3].

The emperor was in no condition to resist such a force: and had the Protestants immediately proceeded to hostilities, they might have dictated their own terms. But they imprudently negociated instead of acting, till Charles received supplies from Italy and the Low Countries. He still, however, cautiously declined a battle, trusting that discord and the want of money would oblige the confederates to disperse. Meantime, he himself began to suffer from the want of forage and provisions. Great numbers of his foreign troops, unaccustomed to the climate, or the food of Germany, were become unfit for service; and it still remained a doubtful point, whether his steadiness was most likely to fail, or the

3. Seckend. lib. iii. Thuan. i.

zeal

zeal of the confederates to be exhausted, when an unexpected event decided the contest, and occasioned a fatal reverse in their affairs.

Several of the protestant princes, over-awed by the emperor's power, had remained neutral: while others, allured by the prospect of advantage, had voluntarily entered into his service. Among the latter was Maurice, marquis of Misnia and Thuringia, of the house of Saxony; a man of bold ambition, extensive views, and profound political talents. After many conferences with Charles, and his ministers, he concluded a treaty by which he engaged to concur in assisting the emperor as a faithful subject; and Charles, in return, stipulated to bestow on him all the spoils of his relation and benefactor, the elector of Saxony, his dignities as well as territories.

These engagements, however, so contradictory to all that is just and honourable among men, Maurice was able to conceal, as they had been formed with the most mysterious secrecy. And so perfect a master was he in the art of dissimulation, that the confederates, notwithstanding his declining all connection with them, and his singular assiduity in paying court to the emperor, seem to have entertained no suspicion of his designs!—The elector of Saxony, when he marched to join his associates, even committed his dominions to the protection of Maurice, who undertook the charge with an insidious appearance of friendship. But scarce had the confederates taken the field, when he began to consult with the king of the Romans, how to invade those dominions he had engaged to defend; and no sooner did he receive a copy of the imperial ban denounced against his cousin and his father-in-law, the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, as leaders of the confederacy, than he suddenly entered one part of the electoral territories, at the head of twelve thousand men, while Ferdinand with an army of Bohemians and Hungarians, over-ran the other [4].

4. Id. Ibid.

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The news of this violent invaſion, and the ſucceſs of Maurice, who in a ſhort time made himſelf maſter of the whole electorate of Saxony, except Wittemberg, Gotha, and Eiſenach, no ſooner reached the camp of the confederates than they were filled with aſtoniſhment and terror. The elector immediately propoſed to return home with his troops, in order to recover his hereditary dominions; and his aſſociates forgetting, that it was the union of their forces which had hitherto rendered the confederacy formidable, and more than once obliged the Imperialiſts to think of quitting the field, conſented to his propoſal of dividing the army.

Ulm, one of the chief cities of Suabia, highly diſtinguiſhed by its zeal for the Smalkaldic league, ſubmitted to the emperor. An example once ſet for deſerting the common cauſe, the reſt of the members became inſtantly impatient to follow it, and ſeemed afraid leſt others, by getting the ſtart of them in returning to their allegiance, ſhould on that account obtain more favourable terms. All the terms, however, were ſufficiently ſevere. Charles, being in great want of money, not only impoſed heavy fines upon the princes and cities that had taken arms againſt him, but obliged them to deliver up their artillery and warlike ſtores, and to admit garriſons into their principal towns and places of ſtrength[5]. Thus a confederacy, ſo powerful lately as to ſhake the imperial throne, fell to pieces, and was diſſolved in the ſpace of a few weeks; ſcarce any of the aſſociates

A. D. 1547.

now remaining in arms, except the elector of Saxony, and the landgrave of Heſſe, whom the emperor was at no pains to reconcile, having marked them out as the victims of his vengeance.

Meanwhile the elector having expelled the invaders from Saxony, not only recovered in a ſhort time poſſeſſion of his own territories, but over-ran Miſnia, and ſtripped his rival of all that belonged to him, except Dreſden and Leipſic; while Maurice, obliged to abandon the field to ſuperior

5. Sleidan. Thuan. *Mem. de Ribier.*

force

force and to ſhut himſelf up in his capital, diſpatched courier after courier to the emperor, repreſenting his dangerous ſituation, and ſoliciting him with the moſt earneſt importunity to march immediately to his relief.

But many cauſes conſpired to prevent the emperor from inſtantly taking any effectual ſtep in favour of his ally. His army was diminiſhed by the departure of the Flemings, and by the number of garriſons which he had been obliged to throw into the towns that had capitulated; and the pope now perceiving that ambition, not religion, was the chief motive of Charles's hoſtilities, had weakened the imperial army ſtill farther, by unexpectedly recalling his troops.

Alarmed at the rapid progreſs of Charles, Paul began to tremble, and not without reaſon, for the liberties of Italy. Francis alſo, the emperor's ancient rival, had obſerved with deep concern, the humiliation of Germany, and was become ſenſible, that if ſome vigorous and timely effort was not made, Charles muſt ſoon acquire ſuch a degree of power as would enable him to give law to the reſt of Europe. He therefore reſolved to form ſuch a combination againſt the emperor as ſhould put a ſtop to his dangerous career. He accordingly negociated for this purpoſe with Solyman II. with the pope, the Venetians, and with England. He encouraged the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Heſſe, by remitting them conſiderable ſums, to continue the ſtruggle for their liberties: he levied troops in all parts of his dominions, and he contracted for a conſiderable body of Swiſs mercenaries [6].

Meaſures ſo complicated could not eſcape the emperor's obſervation, nor fail to alarm him: and the news of a conſpiracy at Genoa, where Fieſco, count of Lavigna, an ambitious young nobleman, had almoſt overturned the government in one night, contributed yet farther to divert Charles from marching immediately into Saxony, as he was uncer-

6. Id. Ibid.

tain

tain how soon he might be obliged to lead his forces into Italy. The politic Maurice, however, found means to save himself during this delay, by a pretended negociation with his injured kinsman; while the death of Francis I. which happened before he was able to carry any of his schemes into execution, together with the final extinction of Fiesco's conspiracy, by the vigilance of the celebrated Andrew Doria, equally a friend to the emperor and republic, encouraged Charles to act with vigour in Germany; more especially as he foresaw that Henry II. who had succeeded his father in the throne of France, though a prince of vigour and ability, would be so much occupied at home in forming his new ministry, that he had nothing to fear for some time either from the negociations or personal efforts of that young monarch.

This interval of security the emperor seized to take vengeance on the elector and the landgrave; and as he was uncertain how long the calm might continue, he instantly marched into Saxony, at the head of sixteen thousand veterans. The elector's forces were more numerous, but they were divided. Charles did not allow them time to assemble. He attacked the main body at Mulhausen, near Mulberg; defeated it after an obstinate dispute, and took the elector prisoner. The captive prince was immediately conducted to the emperor, whom he found standing on the field of battle, in the full exultation of victory. The elector's behaviour, even in his present unfortunate and humbling condition, was alike equal, magnanimous, and decent. It was worthy of his gallant resistance. He alike avoided a sullen pride and a mean submission. "The fortune of war," said he, "most "gracious emperor, has made me your prisoner, and I hope "to be treated"—Here Charles rudely interrupted him:—"And am I then, at last, acknowledged to be emperor? "Charles of Ghent was the only title you lately allowed "me. You shall be treated as you deserve!" turning from him with a haughty air. To this cruel repulse the king of the

the Romans added reproaches in his own name, using expressions still more harsh and insulting. The elector made no reply; but with an unaltered countenance, which discovered neither astonishment nor dejection, accompanied the Spanish soldiers appointed to guard him [7].

The emperor speedily marched towards Wittemberg (the capital, in that age, of the electoral branch of the Saxon family) hoping that while the consternation occasioned by his victory was still recent, the inhabitants would submit as soon as he appeared before their walls. But Sybilla of Cleves, the elector's wife, a woman equally distinguished by her virtue and abilities, instead of obeying the imperial summons, or abandoning herself to tears and lamentation on account of her husband's misfortunes, animated the citizens by her example, as well as exhortation, to a vigorous defence; and Charles, finding that he could not suddenly reduce the place by force, had recourse to means at once ungenerous and unwarlike, but more expeditious and certain. He summoned Sybilla a second time to open the gates; informing her, that in case of refusal, the elector should answer with his head for her obstinacy. And, in order to convince her that he was in earnest, he brought his prisoner to an immediate trial, subjecting the greatest prince in the empire to the jurisdiction of a court martial composed of Spanish and Italian officers; who founding their charge against him, upon the imperial ban, a sentence pronounced by the sole authority of Charles, and destitute of every legal formality which could render it valid, presumed the elector convicted of treason and rebellion, and condemned him to suffer death by being beheaded [8].

Frederic was amusing himself in playing at chess with his fellow-prisoner, Ernest of Brunswic, when this decree was intimated to him. He paused for a moment, though without any symptom of surprize or terror; and after taking notice

7. Hortens. *de Bell. Germ.* Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book ix.
8. Id. ibid.

of the irregularity as well as injuſtice of the proceedings againſt him, "It is eaſy," ſaid he, "to comprehend the em-"peror's ſcheme. I muſt die becauſe Wittemberg refuſes "to ſurrender: and I will lay down my life with pleaſure, if "by that ſacrifice I can preſerve the dignity of my houſe, "and tranſmit to my poſterity the inheritance which I re-"ceived from my anceſtors. Heaven grant," continued he, "that this ſentence may affect my wife and children no more "than it does me! that they may not, for the ſake of add-"ing a few years to a life already too long, renounce ho-"nours and territories which they were born to poſſeſs!" He then turned to his antagoniſt, challenged him to continue the game, and played with his uſual attention and ingenuity [9].

It happened as the elector had feared: the account of his condemnation was not received with the ſame indifference at Wittemberg. Sybilla, who had ſupported with ſuch undaunted fortitude her huſband's misfortunes, while ſhe imagined his perſon was free from danger, felt all her reſolution fail, the moment his life was threatened. Anxious for his ſafety ſhe deſpiſed every other conſideration; and was willing to make any ſacrifice, in order to appeaſe the rage of an incenſed conqueror. Meantime Charles, perceiving that the expedient he had tried began to produce the intended effect, fell by degrees from his former firmneſs, and allowed himſelf to ſoften into promiſes of clemency and forgiveneſs, if the elector would ſhew himſelf worthy of favour, by ſubmitting to certain conditions. Frederic, on whom the conſideration of what he himſelf might ſuffer, had made no impreſſion, was melted by the tears of a wife whom he loved. He could not reſiſt the entreaties of his family. In compliance with their repeated ſolicitations, he agreed to articles of accommodation, which he would otherwiſe have rejected with diſdain;—to reſign the electoral dignity, to put the imperial

9. Thuanus, lib. i.

troops immediately in possession of his capital, and to remain the emperor's prisoner. In return for these important concessions, the emperor promised, not only to spare his life, but to settle on him and his posterity the city of Gotha and its territory, together with a revenue of fifty thousand florins [10]. The Saxon electorate was instantly bestowed upon Maurice. This sacrifice, though with no small reluctance, Charles was obliged to make: as it would neither have been safe nor prudent to violate his engagements with a warlike prince, whom he had seduced by ambitious hopes to abandon his natural allies, and whose friendship was still necessary.

The landgrave of Hesse, Maurice's father-in-law, was still in arms, but he thought no more of resistance. Alarmed at the fate of the elector of Saxony, his only care was how to procure favourable terms from the emperor, whom he now viewed as a conqueror, to whose will there was a necessity of submitting. Maurice encouraged this tame spirit, by magnifying Charles's power, and boasting of his own interest with his victorious ally. The landgrave accordingly threw himself at the emperor's feet, after ratifying what terms he was pleased to impose, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg being sureties for his personal freedom. But his submission was no sooner made, than Charles ordered him to be arrested, and detained prisoner under the custody of a Spanish guard; and when the elector and Maurice, filled with indignation at being made the instruments of deceiving and ruining their friend, represented the infamy to which they would be exposed, unless the landgrave was set at liberty; that they were bound to procure his release, having pledged their faith to that effect, and even engaged their own persons as sureties for his, the emperor, who no longer stood in need of their services, coolly replied, that he was ignorant of their particular or private transactions with the landgrave, nor was his conduct to be regulated by theirs. "I know,"

10. Du Mont, *Corps Diplom.* tom iv.

added he, in a decisive tone, "what I myself have promised; "for that alone I am answerable[11]." These words put an end to the conference, and all future entreaties proved ineffectual.

Charles having now in his power the two greatest princes of the empire, carried them about with him in triumph; and having humbled all whom he had not attached to his interest, proceeded to exercise the rights of a conqueror. He ordered his troops to seize the artillery and military stores of all who had been members of the Smalkaldic league; and he levied, by his sole authority, large sums, as well upon those who had served him with fidelity, as upon such as had appeared in arms against him. Upon the former, as their contingent towards a war undertaken, as he pretended, for the common benefit; upon the latter, as a fine, by way of punishment, for their rebellion. His brother Ferdinand tyrannized with still more severity over his Bohemian subjects, who had taken arms in support of their civil and religious liberties: he stript them of all their ancient privileges, and loaded them with oppressive taxes[12].

The good fortune, or, as it has been called, the STAR of the house of Austria, was now at its height. The emperor having humbled, and, as he imagined, subdued the independent spirit of the Germans, summoned a diet to meet at Augsburg, "in order to compose finally the controversies with "regard to religion, which had so long disturbed the em-"pire;" or, in other words, to enslave the minds of those whose persons and properties were already at his disposal. He durst not, however, commit to the free suffrage of the Germans, broken as their spirit was by subjection, the determination of a matter so interesting. He therefore entered the city at the head of his Spanish troops, and assigned them quarters there. He cantoned the rest of his army in the adjacent villages; and he took possession by force of the ca-

11. Thuanus, lib. iv. Struv. *Corps. Hist. Germ.* tom. ii. 12. Id. ibid.

thedral, together with one of the principal churches, where his priests re-established with great pomp the rites of the Romish worship. These preliminary steps being taken, in order to intimidate the members, and to make them acquainted with the emperor's pleasure, he opened the diet with a speech, in which he pointed out the fatal effects of the religious dissensions which had arisen in Germany; exhorted them to recognize the authority of the general council, which he had taken so much pains to procure; and to stand the award of an assembly to which they had originally appealed, as having the sole right of judgment in the case.

But the council, to which Charles wished to refer all controversies, had undergone by this time a violent change. The same jealousy, which had made the pope recall his troops, had also made him translate the council to Bologna, a city subject to his own jurisdiction. The diet of Augsburg, over-awed by threats, and influenced by promises, petitioned the pope, at the emperor's desire, in the name of the whole Germanic body, to enjoin the prelates who had retired to Bologna, to return again to Trent, and renew their deliberations in that place. But Paul eluded the demand. He made the fathers at Bologna, to whom he referred the petition of the diet, put a direct negative upon the request; and Charles, as he could no longer hope to acquire such an ascendant in the council as to render it subservient to his ambitious aim, and to prevent the authority of so venerable an assembly from being turned against him, sent two Spanish lawyers to Bologna, who, in presence of the legates, protested, That the translation of the council to that place had been unnecessary, and founded on false, or frivolous pretexts; that while it continued to meet there, it ought to be deemed an unlawful and schismatical conventicle, and all its decisions held null and void; and that as the pope, together with the corrupt ecclesiastics who depended upon him (those who depended upon Charles having remained at Trent) had abandoned the care of the church, the

A. D. 1548.

emperor, as its protector, would employ all the power which God had committed to him, in order to preserve it from those calamities with which it was threatened.

In consequence of this resolution, Charles employed some divines of known abilities and learning to prepare a system of doctrine, which he presented to the diet, as what all should conform to, "until a council, such as they wished for, could "be called." Hence the name *Interim*, by which this system is known. It was conformable in almost every article to the tenets of the Romish church, and the Romish rites were enjoined; but all disputed doctrines were expressed in the softest words, in scripture phrases, or in terms of studied ambiguity. In regard to two points only, some relaxation of popish rigour was granted, and some latitude in practice admitted. Such ecclesiastics as had married, and did not chuse to part from their wives, were allowed nevertheless to perform their sacred functions; and those provinces which had been accustomed to partake of the cup as well as of the bread in the communion, were still indulged the privilege of receiving both[13].

This treatise being read in presence of the members, according to form, the archbishop of Mentz, president of the electoral college, rose up hastily, as soon as it was finished, and having thanked the emperor for his unwearied endeavours to restore peace to the church, signified, in the name of the diet, their approbation of the system of doctrine which his imperial Majesty had prepared, together with their resolution of conforming to it in every particular. And although the whole assembly was amazed at a declaration so unprecedented and unconstitutional, as well as at the elector's presumption, in pretending to deliver the sense of the diet upon a point which had not hitherto been the subject of consultation or debate, not one member had the courage to contradict what he had said. Charles therefore held the arch-

13. Father Paul, lib. iii. Goldast. *Const. Imp.* vol. i.

archbishop's declaration to be a ratification of the *Interim*, and prepared to enforce the observance of it as a decree of the empire[14].

The Interim was accordingly published, immediately after the dissolution of the diet, in the German as well as in the Latin language; but, like all conciliating schemes proposed to men heated by disputation, it pleased neither party. The Protestants thought it granted too little indulgence; the Catholics, too much; both were dissatisfied. The emperor, however, fond of his plan, adhered to his resolution of carrying it into execution. But this proved one of the most difficult and dangerous undertakings in his reign; for although three Protestant princes, Maurice, the elector Palatine, and the elector of Brandenburg, agreed to receive the Interim, several others remonstrated against it: and the free cities, with one voice, joined in refusing to admit it, till force taught them submission. Augsburg and Ulm being barbarously stript of their privileges, on account of their opposition, many other cities feigned compliance. But this obedience, extorted by the rigour of authority, produced no change in the sentiments of the Germans. They submitted with reluctance to the power that oppressed them; and although for a time they concealed their resentment, it was daily gathering force, and soon broke forth with a violence that shook the Imperial throne.

In this moment of general submission it is worthy of remark, that the elector of Saxony, though the emperor's prisoner, and tempted both by threats and promises, refused to lend his sanction to the Interim. His reasons were those of a philosopher, not of a bigot. After declaring his fixed belief in the doctrines of the Reformation, "I cannot now," said he, "in my old age, abandon the principles for which "I early contended; nor, in order to procure freedom during a few declining years, will I betray that good cause,

14. Id. ibid.

"on account of which I have suffered so much, and am still "willing to suffer: better for me to enjoy, in this solitude, "the esteem of virtuous men, together with the approbation "of my own conscience, than to return into the world with "the imputation and guilt of apostacy, to disgrace and em-"bitter the remainder of my days [15]!"

The contents of the Interim were no sooner known at Rome, than the members of the sacred college were filled with rage and indignation. They exclaimed against the emperor's prophane encroachment on the sacerdotal function, in presuming, with the concurrence of an assembly of laymen, to define articles of faith, and regulate modes of worship. They compared this rash deed to that of Uzziah, who, with an unhallowed hand, had touched the ark of God. But the pope, whose judgment was improved by longer experience in great transactions, and more extensive observation of human affairs, though displeased at the emperor's encroachment on his jurisdiction, viewed the matter with more indifference. He perceived that Charles, by joining any one of the contending parties in Germany, might have had it in his power to have crushed the other, but that the presumption of success had now inspired him with the vain thought of being able to domineer over both; and he foresaw that a system, which all attacked and none defended, could not be of long duration [16]. He was more sensibly affected by the emperor's political measures, and his own domestic concerns.

Charles, as I have already had occasion to notice, had married Margaret of Austria, his natural daughter, to Octavio Farnese, the pope's grandson. On his own son Lewis, Octavio's father, whose aggrandisement he had sincerely at heart, Paul bestowed the duchies of Parma and Placentia, then part of St. Peter's Patrimony. But the emperor, less fond of aggrandising his daughter, whose children were to

15. Sleid. p. 462. Robertson, *Charles V*. book ix.
16. Father Paul, lib. iii. Palavicini, lib. ii.

succeed

succeed to the inheritance, refused to grant to Lewis the investiture of those territories, under pretence that they were appendages of the duchy of Milan. Enraged at such ungenerous conduct, the pope undertook to bestow himself that investiture which he craved, and the emperor persisted in refusing to confirm the deed. Hence a secret enmity took place between Paul and Charles, but one still stronger between Charles and Lewis. To complete the pope's misfortunes, Lewis became one of the most detestable tyrants that ever disgraced human nature, and justly fell a sacrifice to his own crimes, and to the injuries of his oppressed subjects. Gonzaga, governor of Milan, who had watched for such an opportunity, and even abetted the conspirators, immediately took possession of Placentia, in the emperor's name, and reinstated the inhabitants in their ancient privileges. The Imperialists likewise attempted to surprise Parma, but were disappointed by the vigilance and fidelity of the garrison [17].

Paul was deeply afflicted for the loss of a son, whom, notwithstanding his vices, he loved with an excess of parental affection, and immediately demanded of the emperor the punishment of Gonzaga, and the restitution of Placentia to his grandson Octavio, its rightful heir. But Charles evaded both demands: he chose rather to bear the infamy of defrauding his own son-in-law of his patrimonial inheritance, and even to expose himself to the imputation of being accessary to the crime which had given an opportunity of seizing it, than quit a possession of such value. An ambition so rapacious, and which no considerations either of decency or justice could restrain, transported Paul beyond his usual moderation. Eager to take arms against the emperor, but conscious of his own inability to contend with such an enemy, he warmly solicited the king of France and the republic of Venice to take part in his quarrel; but finding all his negociations ineffectual, he endeavoured to acquire by policy

17. Thuanus, lib. iv. *Mem. de Ribier.*

what he could not recover by force. Upon a fuppofition that Charles would not dare to detain the poffeffions of the Holy See, he propofed to reunite to it Parma and Placentia, by recalling his grant of Parma from Octavio, whom he could indemnify in the mean time for the lofs, by a new eftablifhment in the ecclefiaftical ftate; and by demanding Placentia from the emperor, as part of the patrimony of the church. But while Paul was priding himfelf in this happy device, Octavio, an ambitious and high-fpirited young man, having little faith in fuch a refinement in policy, and not chufing to abandon certainty for hope, applied to the emperor to protect him in his duchy [18].

A. D. 1549.

This unexpected defection of one of his own family, of the grandfon whofe fortune it had been the care of his declining years to build, to an enemy whom he hated, agitated the venerable pontiff beyond his ftrength, and is faid to have occafioned that illnefs of which he foon after died [19].—An hiftorian, more fprightly than profound, and more keen than candid, has here affected to raife a fmile, that "any other "caufe than *old age* fhould be affigned for the death of *a* "*man of fourfcore* [20];" and a more refpectable hiftorian, one equally elegant and learned, and no lefs intelligent than judicious, has taken much pains to prove, that the pope's "dif-"eafe was the *natural* effect of *old age*, not one of thofe "occafioned by *violence of paffion* [21]."—But both allow that Paul was *violently* affected, when informed of Octavio's undutiful conduct; and the latter informs us, That "he was "feized with fuch a *tranfport of paffion*, and *cried* fo *bitterly*, "that his voice was heard in feveral apartments of the "palace;" that "his mind was *irritated almoft to madnefs* [22]." And *weak* and *credulous* as fome hiftorians may be, and fond of "attributing the death of illuftrious perfons to *extraordi-*

18. Thuanus, lib. vi. Palav. lib. ii. 19. Id. Ibid.
20. Voltaire, *Hift. Gen.* 21. Robertfon, *Hift. Charles V.* book x.
22. Id. Ibid.

"*nary*

"*nary* causes,"—there is surely nothing extraordinary in supposing that *mental irritation* and *bitter crying* might occasion a *catarrh*, the distemper of which the pope died, or *a violent transport of passion* increase the *natural* imbecility of *old age*, and hasten *a man of fourscore* to the grave. It is more extraordinary, how violently some great men, from a desire of being thought superior to vulgar prejudices, will struggle against common sense.

Paul was succeeded in the papacy by the cardinal de Monte, who had been employed as principal legate in the council of Trent, and owed his election to the Farnese party. He assumed the name of Julius III. and, in order to express his gratitude towards his benefactors, he put Octavio Farnese in possession of Parma, which had been delivered up to his predecessor. "I would rather," replied he, when told what injury he did the Holy See by alienating a territory of such value, "be a poor pope with the reputa-"tion of a gentleman, than a rich one with the infamy of "having forgot the obligations conferred upon me, and the "promises I made [23]." He discovered less inclination, however, to observe the oath which each cardinal had taken when he entered the conclave, that if the choice should fall on him, he would immediately call the general council to resume its deliberations. He knew, by experience, how difficult it was to confine the inquiries, or even the decisions of such a body of men, within the narrow limits which it was the interest of the court of Rome to prescribe. But as the emperor persisted in his resolution of forcing the Protestants to return into the bosom of the church, and earnestly solicited that a council might be called, in order to combat their prejudices, and support his pious intentions, Julius could not with decency reject his request; and, willing to assume to himself the merit of a measure become necessary, and also to ingratiate himself more particularly with Charles, he pretended to move,

A. D. 1550.

23. *Mem. de Ribier.*

and

and to deliberate on the matter, and afterwards issued a bull for the council to re-assemble at Trent[24].

Meanwhile the emperor held a diet at Augsburg, in order to enforce the observation of the Interim, and to procure a more authentic act of the empire, acknowledging the jurisdiction of the council, as well as an explicit promise of conforming to its decrees. And such absolute ascendency had Charles acquired over the members of the Germanic body, that he procured a Recess, in which the authority of the council was recognized, and declared to be the proper remedy for the evils which afflicted the church. The observation of the Interim was more strictly enjoined than ever; and the emperor threatened all who had hitherto neglected, or refused to conform to it, with the severest effects of his vengeance, if they persisted in their disobedience.

During the meeting of this diet, a new attempt was made to procure liberty to the landgrave. Nowise reconciled by time to his condition, he grew every day more impatient of restraint; and having often applied to his sureties, Maurice and the elector of Brandenburg, who took every opportunity of soliciting the emperor in his behalf, though without effect, he now commanded his sons to summon them, with legal formality, to perform their engagements, by surrendering themselves to be treated as the emperor had treated him. Thus pushed to extremity, the sureties renewed their application to Charles. Resolved not to grant their request, but anxious to get rid of their incessant importunity, the emperor endeavoured to prevail on the landgrave to give up the obligation which he had received from them; and when that prince refused to part with a security which he deemed essential to his safety, Charles, by a singular act of despotism, cut the knot which he could not untie. As if faith, honour, and conscience had been subjected to his sway, he, by a public deed, annulled the bond which Maurice and the elector of

24. Father Paul, lib. i.i.

Brandenburg had granted, and abſolved them from all their obligations to the landgrave[25]! A power of cancelling thoſe ſolemn contracts which are the foundation of that mutual confidence whereby men are held together in ſocial union, was never claimed by the moſt deſpotic princes or arrogating prieſts of heathen antiquity: that enormous uſurpation was reſerved for the Roman pontiffs, who had rendered themſelves odious by the exerciſe of ſuch a pernicious prerogative; all Germany was therefore filled with aſtoniſhment, when Charles aſſumed the ſame right. The princes who had hitherto contributed to his aggrandiſement, began to tremble for their own ſafety, and to take meaſures for preventing the danger.

A.D. 1551.

The firſt check which Charles met with in his ambitious projects, and which convinced him that the Germans were not yet ſlaves, was in his attempt to tranſmit the empire, as well as the kingdom of Spain, and his dominions in the Low Countries, to his ſon Philip. He had formerly aſſiſted his brother Ferdinand in obtaining the dignity of king of the Romans; and that prince had not only ſtudied to render himſelf acceptable to the people, but had a ſon, who was born in Germany, grown up to the years of manhood, and who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree ſuch qualities as rendered him the darling of his countrymen. The emperor, however, warmed with contemplating this vaſt deſign, flattered himſelf, that it was not impoſſible to prevail on the electors to cancel their former choice of Ferdinand, or at leaſt to elect Philip a ſecond king of the Romans, ſubſtituting him as next in ſucceſſion to his uncle. With this view he took Philip, who had been educated in Spain, along with him to the diet at Augſburg, that the Germans might have an opportunity to obſerve and become acquainted with the prince in whoſe behalf he ſolicited their intereſt; but no ſooner was the propoſal made known, than all the electors, the eccleſiaſtical as

25. Thuanus, lib. vi.

well as secular, concurred in expressing such strong disapprobation of the measure, that Charles was obliged to drop his project as impracticable [26]. They foresaw, that by continuing the imperial crown, like an hereditary dignity, in the same family, they should give the son an opportunity of carrying on that system of oppression which the father had begun, and put it in his power to overturn whatever was yet left entire in the ancient and venerable fabric of the German constitution.

This plan of domestic ambition, which had long engrossed his thoughts, being laid aside, Charles imagined he should now have leisure to turn all his attention towards his grand scheme of establishing uniformity of religion in the empire, by forcing all the contending parties to acquiesce in the decisions of the council of Trent. But the machine which he had to conduct was so great and complicated, that an unforeseen irregularity, or obstruction in one of the inferior wheels, often disconcerted the motion of the whole, and disappointed him of the effect which he depended upon with most confidence. Such an unlooked-for occurrence now happened, and created new obstacles against the execution of his plan in regard to religion.

Though Julius III. during the first effusions of joy and gratitude on his promotion to the papal throne, had confirmed Octavio Farnese in the possession of the duchy of Parma, he soon began to repent of his generosity. The emperor still retained possession of Placentia; and Gonzaga, governor of Milan, a sworn enemy to the family of Farnese, was preparing, by Charles's permission, to make himself master of Parma. Octavio saw his danger; and sensible of his inability to defend himself against the imperial troops, he applied to the pope for protection, as a vassal of the Holy See. But the imperial minister having already pre-occupied the ear of Julius, Octavio's petition met with a cold reception.

26. Id. Ibid. *Mem. de Ribier.*

Despairing,

Despairing, therefore, of support from his Holiness, he began to look elsewhere for assistance: and Henry II. of France, the only prince powerful enough to protect him, was fortunately in a situation to lend him that assistance.

Having not only settled his own domestic concerns, but brought his transactions with the two British kingdoms which had hitherto diverted his attention from the affairs of the continent, to such an issue as he desired, Henry was at full leisure to pursue the measures which his hereditary jealousy of the emperor's power naturally suggested. He accordingly listened to the overtures of Octavio; and, glad of an opportunity of regaining footing in Italy, furnished him with what assistance he desired.

The war of Parma, where the French took the field as the allies of the duke, and the imperialists as the protectors of the Holy See, the pope having declared Octavio's fief forfeited, was distinguished by no memorable event; but the alarm which it occasioned in Italy prevented most of the Italian prelates from repairing to Trent on the day appointed for re-assembling the council, so that the legate and nuncios found it necessary to adjourn to a future day, hoping that such a number might then assemble, as would enable them in decency to begin their deliberations. When that day came, the French ambassador demanded audience, and protested, in his master's name, against an assembly called at such an improper juncture; when a war, wantonly kindled by the pope, made it impossible for the deputies from the Gallican church to resort to Trent in safety, or to deliberate concerning articles of faith and discipline with the requisite tranquillity. He declared, that Henry did not acknowledge this to be a general œcumenic council, but must consider and would treat it as a particular and partial convention [27].

That declaration gave a deep wound to the credit of the council, at the commencement of its deliberations. The

27. Father Paul, lib iv. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book x.

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legate, however, affected to despise Henry's protest; the prelates proceeded to determine the great points in controversy concerning the sacrament of the Lord's supper, penance, and extreme unction; and the emperor strained his authority to the utmost, in order to establish the reputation and jurisdiction of that assembly. The Protestants were prohibited to teach any doctrine contrary to its decrees or to the tenets of the Romish church; and on their refusing compliance, their pastors were ejected and exiled; such magistrates as had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the new opinions were dismissed; their offices were filled with the most bigotted of their adversaries; and the people were compelled to attend the ministration of priests whom they regarded as idolaters, and to submit to the authority of rulers, whom they detested as usurpers[28].

These tyrannical measures fully opened the eyes of Maurice of Saxony and other Lutheran princes, who, allured by the promise of liberty of conscience, and the prospect of farther advantages, had assisted the emperor in the war against the confederates of Smalkalde. "Maurice, in particular, who had long beheld with jealous concern the usurpations of Charles, now saw the necessity of setting bounds to them; and he who had perfidiously stript his nearest relation and benefactor of his hereditary possessions, and been chiefly instrumental in bringing to the brink of ruin the civil and religious liberties of his country, became the deliverer of Germany.

The policy with which Maurice conducted himself in the execution of his design was truly admirable. He was so perfect a master of address and dissimulation, that he retained the emperor's confidence, while he recovered the good opinion of the Protestants. As he knew Charles to be inflexible with respect to the submission which he required to the Interim, he did not hesitate a moment whether he should establish that

28. Id. Ibid.

form

form of doctrine and worſhip in his dominions: he even undertook to reduce to obedience the citizens of Magdeburg, who perſiſted in rejecting it; and he was choſen general, by a diet aſſembled at Augſburg, of the imperial army levied for that purpoſe. But he at the ſame time iſſued a declaration, containing profeſſions of his zealous attachment to the reformed religion, as well as of his reſolution to guard againſt all the errors and encroachments of the papal ſee; and he entered his proteſt againſt the authority of the council of Trent, unleſs the Proteſtant divines had a full hearing granted them, and were allowed a deciſive voice in that aſſembly; unleſs the pope renounced his pretenſions to preſide in it, ſhould engage to ſubmit to its decrees, and to abſolve the biſhops from their oath of obedience, that they might deliver their ſentiments with greater freedom. He reduced Magdeburg, after a ſiege of twelve months, protracted by deſign, in order that his ſchemes might be ripened before his army was diſbanded[29]. The public articles of capitulation were perfectly conformable to the emperor's views, and ſufficiently ſevere. But Maurice gave the magiſtrates ſecret aſſurances that their city ſhould not be diſmantled, and that the inhabitants ſhould neither be diſturbed in the exerciſe of their religion, nor deprived of any of their ancient privileges; and they, in their turn, elected him their burgrave, a dignity which had formerly belonged to the electoral houſe of Saxony, and which entitled its poſſeſſor to very ample juriſdiction both in the city and its dependencies.

Far from ſuſpecting any thing fraudulent or colluſive in the terms of accommodation, the emperor ratified them without heſitation, freely abſolving the Magdeburgers from the ſentence of ban denounced againſt them; and Maurice, under various pretences, kept his veteran troops in pay, while Charles, engaged in directing the affairs of the council, entertained no apprehenſion of his deſigns. But, previous to

29. Sebaſt. Beſſelm. *Obſ. Magdeb.* Arnoldi, *Vit. Maurit.*

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the unfolding of these designs, some account must be given of a new revolution in Hungary, which contributed not a little toward the extraordinary success of Maurice's operations.

When Solyman deprived the young king of Hungary of the dominions which his father had left him, he granted that unfortunate prince, as has been already related, the country of Transylvania, a province of his paternal kingdom. The government of this province, together with the care of educating the infant king (for the sultan still allowed him to retain that title), was committed to Isabella the queen-mother, and Martinuzzi bishop of Waradin, whom the late king of Hungary had appointed his son's guardians, and regents of his dominions. This co-ordinate jurisdiction occasioned the same dissensions in a small principality, which it would have excited in a great monarchy. The queen and bishop grew jealous of each other's authority: both had their partizans amongst the nobility; but as Martinuzzi, by his superior talents, began to acquire the ascendant, Isabella courted the protection of the Turks. The politic prelate saw his danger; and, through the mediation of some of the nobles. who were solicitous to save their country from the calamities of civil war, he concluded an agreement with the queen. But he, at the same time, secretly dispatched one of his confidants to Vienna, and entered into a negociation with the king of the Romans, whom he offered to assist in expelling the Turks, and in recovering possession of the Hungarian throne.

Allured by such a flattering prospect, Ferdinand agreed, notwithstanding his truce with Solyman, to invade the principality of Transilvania. The troops destined for that service, consisting of veteran Spanish and German soldiers, were commanded by Castaldo marquis de Piadena, an officer of great knowledge in the art of war, who was powerfully seconded by Martinuzzi and his faction among the Hungarians; and the sultan being then at the head of his forces on the borders of Persia, the Turkish bashas could not afford

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the queen ſuch immediate or effectual aſſiſtance as the exigency of her affairs required. She was, therefore, obliged to liſten to ſuch conditions as ſhe would at any other time have rejected with diſdain. She agreed to give up Tranſilvania to Ferdinand, and to make over to him her ſon's title to the crown of Hungary, in exchange for the principalities of Oppelen and Ratibor in Sileſia; for which ſhe immediately ſet out.

Martinuzzi, as the reward of his ſervices, was appointed governor of Tranſilvania, with almoſt unlimited authority: and he proved himſelf worthy of it. He conducted the war againſt the Turks with equal ability and ſucceſs: he recovered ſome places of which they had taken poſſeſſion; he rendered their attempts to reduce others abortive; and he eſtabliſhed the dominion of the king of the Romans, not only in Tranſilvania, but in ſeveral of the adjacent countries. Always, however, afraid of the talents of Martinuzzi, Ferdinand now became jealous of his power; and Caſtaldo, by imputing to the governor deſigns which he never formed, and charging him with actions of which he was not guilty, at laſt convinced the king of the Romans that, in order to preſerve his Hungarian crown, he muſt cut off that ambitious prelate. The fatal mandate was accordingly iſſued: Caſtaldo willingly undertook to execute it: Martinuzzi was aſſaſſinated. But Ferdinand, inſtead of the ſecurity which he expected from that barbarous meaſure, found his Hungarian territories only expoſed to more certain danger. The nobles, deteſting ſuch jealous and cruel policy, either retired to their own eſtates, or grew cold in the ſervice, if they continued with the Auſtrian army; while the Turks, encouraged by the death of an enemy whoſe vigour and abilities they dreaded, prepared to renew hoſtilities with freſh vigour [30].

Maurice, in the meantime, having almoſt finiſhed his intrigues and preparations, was on the point of taking the field

30. Iſtuanhaffi, *Hiſt. Reg. Hung.* lib. xvi. *Mem. de Ribier*, tom. ii.

againſt the emperor. He had concluded a treaty with Henry II. of France, who wiſhed to diſtinguiſh himſelf, by trying his ſtrength againſt the ſame enemy, whom it had been the glory of his father's reign to oppoſe. But as it would have been indecent in a popiſh prince to undertake the defence of the Proteſtant church, the intereſts of religion, how much ſoever they might be affected by the treaty, were not once mentioned in any of the articles. The only motives aſſigned for now leaguing againſt Charles, were to procure the Landgrave liberty, and to prevent the ſubverſion of the ancient conſtitution and laws of the German empire. Religious concerns, the confederates pretended to commit entirely to the care of Providence.

Having ſecured the protection of the French monarch, Maurice proceeded with great confidence, but equal caution, to execute his plan. As he judged it neceſſary to demand once more, before he took off the maſk, that the Landgrave ſhould be ſet at liberty, he ſent a ſolemn embaſſy, in which moſt of the German princes joined, to the emperor at Inſpruck, in order to enforce his requeſt. Conſtant to his ſyſtem in regard to the captive prince, Charles eluded the demand, though urged by ſuch powerful interceſſors. But this application, though of no benefit to the Landgrave, was of infinite ſervice to Maurice. It ſerved to juſtify his ſubſequent proceedings, and to demonſtrate the neceſſity of taking arms, in order to extort that equitable conceſſion, which his mediation or entreaty could not obtain. He accordingly diſpatched Albert of Brandenburg to Paris, to haſten the march of the French army: he took meaſures to bring his own troops together on the firſt ſummons; and he provided for the ſecurity of Saxony, while he ſhould be abſent.

A. D. 1552.

All theſe complicated operations were carried on with ſo much ſecrecy, as to elude the obſervation of Charles, whoſe ſagacity in obſerving the conduct of all around him, commonly led him to exceſs of diſtruſt. He remained in perfect tranquility at Inſpruck, ſolely occupied in counteracting the

intrigues

intrigues of the pope's legate at Trent, and in ſettling the conditions on which the Proteſtant divines ſhould be admitted into the council. Even Granville, biſhop of Arras, his prime miniſter, though one of the moſt ſubtle ſtateſmen of that, or perhaps of any age, was deceived by the exquiſite addreſs with which Maurice concealed his deſigns. "A "drunken German head," replied he to the duke of Alva's ſuſpicions, concerning the elector's ſincerity, "is too groſs "to form any ſcheme which I cannot eaſily penetrate and "baffle." Granville was on this occaſion, however, the dupe of his own artifice. He had bribed two of Maurice's miniſters, on whoſe information he depended for their maſter's intentions; but that prince having fortunately diſcovered their perfidy, inſtead of puniſhing them for their crime, dexterouſly availed himſelf of the fraud. He affected to treat theſe miniſters with greater confidence than ever; he admitted them into his conſultations, and ſeemed to lay open his heart to them; but he took care all the while to make them acquainted with nothing but what it was his intereſt ſhould be known, and they tranſmitted to Inſpruck ſuch accounts as lulled the crafty Granville in ſecurity [31].

At laſt Maurice's preparations were completed: and he had the ſatisfaction to find, that his intrigues and deſigns were ſtill unknown. But although ready to take the field, he did not yet lay aſide the arts he had hitherto employed. Pretending to be indiſpoſed, he diſpatched one of the miniſters whom Granville had bribed, to inform the emperor, that he meant ſoon to wait upon him at Inſpruck, and to apologize for his delay [32]. In the mean time he aſſembled his army, which amounted to twenty thouſand foot and five thouſand horſe, publiſhing at the ſame time a manifeſto, containing his reaſons for taking arms; namely, to ſecure the Proteſtant religion, to maintain the German conſtitution, and deliver the Landgrave of Heſſe from the miſeries of a long and un-

31. Melvil's *Memoirs*. 32. Ibid.

juſt imprisonment. To this the king of France, in his own name, added a manifeſto, in which he aſſumed the extraordinary appellation of *Protector of the Liberties of Germany and its captive Princes* [33].

No words can expreſs the emperor's aſtoniſhment at events ſo unexpected. He was not in a condition to oppoſe ſuch formidable enemies. His embarraſſment increaſed their confidence: their operations were equally bold and ſucceſsful. The king of France immediately entered Lorrain, made himſelf maſter of Toul, Verdun, and Metz; while Maurice, no leſs intrepid and enterpriſing in the field than cautious and crafty in the cabinet, traverſed all Upper Germany, every where reinſtating the magiſtrates whom Charles had depoſed, and putting the ejected Proteſtant miniſters in poſſeſſion of the churches.

The emperor had recourſe to negociation, the only recourſe of the weak: and Maurice, conſcious of his own political talents, and willing to manifeſt a pacific diſpoſition, agreed to an interview with the king of the Romans, in the town of Lintz, in Auſtria, leaving his army to proceed on its march, under the command of the duke of Mecklenburg. Nothing was determined in the conference at Lintz, except that another ſhould be held at Paſſau. Meanwhile Maurice continued his operations with vigour. He marched directly towards Inſpruck; and hoping to ſurpriſe the emperor in that open town, he advanced with the moſt rapid motion that could be given to ſo great a body of men, forcing ſeveral ſtrong paſſes and bearing down all reſiſtance.

Charles was happily informed of his danger a few hours before the enemy's arrival; and although the night was far advanced, dark, and rainy, he immediately fled over the Alps in a litter, being ſo much afflicted with the gout as to be incapable of any other mode of travelling. Enraged that his prey ſhould eſcape him, when he was juſt on the point of ſeizing it, Maurice purſued the emperor and his attendants

33. *Mem. de Ribier*, tom ii.

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ſome miles: but finding it impoſſible to overtake men, whoſe flight was haſtened by fear, he returned to Inſpruck, and abandoned the emperor's baggage to the pillage of his ſoldiers[34]. Meantime Charles purſued his journey, and arrived in ſafety at Villach in Carinthia, where he continued till matters were finally ſettled with the Proteſtant princes.

In conſequence of Maurice's operations, the council of Trent broke up. The German prelates, anxious for the ſafety of their territories, returned home; the reſt were extremely impatient to be gone; and the legate, who had hitherto diſappointed all the endeavours of the imperial ambaſſadors to procure the Proteſtant divines an audience in the council, gladly laid hold on ſuch a plauſible pretext for diſmiſſing an aſſembly, which he had found it ſo difficult to govern[35]. The breach which had unhappily been made in the church, inſtead of being cloſed, was widened; and all mankind were made ſenſible of the inefficacy of a general council for reconciling the contending parties.

The victorious Maurice repaired to Paſſau, on the day appointed for the ſecond conference with the king of the Romans; and as matters of the greateſt conſequence to the future peace and independency of the empire were then to be agitated, thither reſorted the miniſters of all the electors, together with deputies from moſt of the conſiderable princes and free cities. The elector limited his demand to three articles ſet forth in his manifeſto; namely, the liberty of the Landgrave, the public exerciſe of the Proteſtant religion, and the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient conſtitution of Germany.

Theſe demands appearing extravagant to the imperial ambaſſadors, they were preſented by Ferdinand to the emperor in perſon, at Villach, in the name of all the princes of the empire, Popiſh as well as Proteſtant; in the name of ſuch as had aſſiſted in forwarding his ambitious ſchemes, as

34. Arnoldi *Vit. Maurit.* 35. Father Paul, lib. iv.

well as of those who had viewed the progress of his power with jealousy and dread. Unwilling, however, to forego at once objects which he had long pursued with ardour and hope, Charles, notwithstanding his need of peace, was deaf to the united voice of Germany. He rejected the proffered terms with disdain; and Maurice, well acquainted with the emperor's arts, suspecting that he meant only to amuse and deceive by a shew of negociation, immediately rejoined his troops, and laid siege to Frankfort on the Maine.

July 17.

This measure had the desired effect. Firm and haughty as his nature was, Charles found it necessary to make concessions; and Maurice thought it more prudent to accept of conditions less advantageous than those he had proposed, than again commit all to the doubtful issue of war [36]. He therefore repaired once more to Passau, renewed the congress, and concluded a peace on the following terms:—"The confederates shall lay down their arms before the 12th day of August; the Landgrave shall be set at liberty, on or before that day; a diet shall be held within six months, in order to deliberate concerning the most effectual method of preventing for the future all dissensions concerning religion; in the mean time, no injury shall be offered to such as adhere to the Confession of Augsburg, nor shall the Catholics be molested in the exercise of their religion; the imperial chamber shall administer justice impartially to persons of both parties, and Protestants be admitted indiscriminately with Catholics to sit as judges in that court; the encroachments, said to have been made upon the constitution and liberties of Germany, shall be remitted to the consideration of the approaching diet of the empire; and if that diet should not be able to terminate the disputes respecting religion, the stipulations in the present treaty, in behalf of the Protestants, shall continue for ever in full force [37]."

36. Thuanus, lib. x.

37. *Recueil de Traitez*, tom. ii.

Such,

Such, my dear Philip, was the memorable treaty of Paſſau, which ſet limits to the authority of Charles V. overturned the vaſt fabric which he had employed ſo many years in erecting, and eſtabliſhed the Proteſtant church in Germany, upon a firm and ſecure baſis. It is ſingular, that in this treaty, no article was inſerted in favour of the king of France, to whom the confederates had been ſo much indebted for their ſucceſs. But Henry II. experienced only the treatment which every prince, who lends his aid to the authors of a civil war, may expect [38]. As ſoon as the rage of faction began to ſubſide, and any proſpect of accommodation to open, his ſervices were forgotten, and his aſſociates made a merit with their ſovereign of the ingratitude with which they had abandoned their protector.

The French monarch, however, ſenſible that it was more his intereſt to keep on good terms with the Germanic body than to reſent the indignities offered him by any particular member of it, concealed his diſpleaſure at the perfidy of Maurice and his aſſociates. He even affected to talk, in the ſame ſtrain as formerly, of his zeal for maintaining the ancient conſtitution and liberties of the empire. And he prepared to defend, by force of arms, his conqueſts in Lorrain, which he foreſaw Charles would take the firſt opportunity of wreſting from him. But before I relate the events of the new wars to which thoſe conqueſts gave birth, we muſt take a view of the affairs of our own iſland; a more contracted but not leſs turbulent ſcene, and diſcoloured by more horrors and cruelties than the continent, during the dark and changeable period that followed the death of Henry VIII. and terminated in the ſteady government of Elizabeth.

38. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book x.

LETTER LXII.

ENGLAND, *from the Death of* HENRY VIII. *until the Accession of* ELIZABETH, *in* 1558; *together with an Account of the Affairs of* SCOTLAND, *during that Period, and of the Progress of the Reformation in both the British Kingdoms.*

HENRY VIII. by his will, made near a month before his death, left the crown, first to prince Edward, his son by Jane Seymour; then to the princess Mary, his daughter by Catharine of Arragon; and lastly to the princess Elizabeth, his daughter by Anne Boleyn, though both princesses had been declared illegitimate by parliament. These particulars, my dear Philip, are necessary to be mentioned here, in order to the better understanding of the disputes which afterward arose in regard to the succession.

A. D. 1547.

Edward VI. being only nine years of age at the time of his father's death, the government of the kingdom was committed to sixteen executors, among whom was Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the chancellor, chamberlain, and all the great officers of state. They chose one of their number, namely the earl of Hertford, the king's maternal uncle, instantly created duke of Somerset, to represent the royal majesty, under the title of Protector; to whom dispatches from English ministers abroad should be directed, and whose name should be employed in all orders and proclamations. Him they invested with all the exterior symbols of regal dignity; and he procured a patent from the young king, investing him also with regal power [1].

This patent, in which the executors are not so much as mentioned, being surreptitiously obtained from a minor, the protectorship of Somerset was a palpable usurpation; but

1. Burnet, *Hist. Reformat.* vol. ii.

as the executors acquiefced in the new eftablifhment, and the king difcovered an extreme attachment to his uncle, who was a man of moderation and probity, few objections were made to his power or title. Other caufes confpired to confirm both. Somerfet had long been regarded as the fecret partizan of the reformers, become by far the moft numerous and refpectable body of men in the kingdom; and, being now freed from reftraint, he fcrupled not to difcover his intention of correcting all abufes in the ancient religion, and of adopting ftill more of the Proteftant innovations. He alfo took care that the king fhould be educated in the fame principles. To thefe Edward foon difcovered a zealous attachment; and all men forefeeing, in the courfe of his reign, the total abolition of the Catholic faith in England, they began early and very generally to declare themfelves in favour of thofe tenets, which were likely to become in the end triumphant, and of that authority by which they were propagated.

In his fchemes for advancing the progrefs of the Reformation, the protector had always recourfe to the counfels of Cranmer, whofe moderation and prudence made him averfe againft all violent changes, and determined him to draw over the people, by infenfible gradations, to that fyftem of doctrine and difcipline which he efteemed the moft pure and perfect[2]. And to thefe moderate counfels we are indebted, not only for the full eftablifhment of the Proteftant religion in England, but alfo for that happy medium between fuperftition and enthufiafm obfervbale in the conftitution of the Englifh church. The fabric of the fecular hierarchy was left and maintained entire; the ancient liturgy was preferved, as far as was thought confiftent with the new principles; many ceremonies, become venerable from age and preceding ufe, were retained; and the diftinctive habits of the clergy, according to their different ranks, were continued.

2. Id. ibid.

No innovation was admitted merely from a ſpirit of oppoſition, or a fanatical love of novelty. The eſtabliſhment of the Church of England was a work of reaſon.

As ſoon as the Engliſh government was brought to ſome degree of compoſure, Somerſet made preparations for a war with Scotland; determined to execute, if poſſible, that project of uniting the two kingdoms by marriage, on which the late king had been ſo intent, and which ſeemed once ſo near a happy iſſue, but which had been defeated by the intrigues of cardinal Beatoun. This politic and powerful prelate, though not able to prevent the parliament of Scotland from agreeing to the treaty of marriage and union with England, being then in the hands of the Proteſtant party, afterwards regained his authority, and acquired ſufficient influence, not only to oblige the earl of Arran, who had ſucceeded him in the regency, to renounce his alliance with Henry VIII. but alſo to abjure the principles of the Reformation, to which he ſeemed zealouſly attached, and to reconcile himſelf, in 1543, to the Romiſh communion, in the Franciſcan church at Stirling [3].

The fatal effects of this change in the religious and political ſentiments of the regent, were long felt in Scotland. Arran's apoſtacy may even perhaps be conſidered as the remote cauſe of all the civil broils which afflicted both kingdoms in the ſubſequent century, and which terminated in the final expulſion of the houſe of Stuart, of which the infant queen of Scots was now the ſole repreſentative. The ſouthern and moſt fertile parts of the kingdom were ſuddenly laid waſte by an Engliſh army. Various hoſtilities enſued with various ſucceſs, but without any deciſive event. At laſt an end was put to that ruinous and inglorious warfare, by the peace concluded between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at Campe, in 1546; the French monarch generouſly ſtipulating, that his Scottiſh allies ſhould be included in the treaty.

3. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book ii.

The

The religious consequences were more serious and lasting, and their political influence was great.

The Scottish regent consented to every thing that the zeal of the cardinal thought necessary for the preservation of the established religion. The reformers were every where cruelly persecuted, and many were condemned to that dreadful punishment which the church has appointed for its enemies. Among those committed to the flames was a popular preacher named George Wishart; a man of honourable birth, and of primitive sanctity, who possessed in an eminent degree the talent of seizing the attention and engaging the affections of the multitude. Wishart suffered with the patience of a martyr; but he could not forbear remarking the barbarous triumph of his insulting adversary, who beheld from a window of his sumptuous palace the inhuman spectacle:—and he foretold, that in a few days the cardinal should, in the same palace, lie as low as now he was exalted high, in opposition to true piety and religion [4].

This prophecy, like many others, was probably the cause of the event which it foretold. The disciples of Wishart, enraged at his cruel execution, formed a conspiracy against Beatoun; and having associated with them Norman Lesly, eldest son of the earl of Rothes, who was instigated by revenge on account of private injuries, they surprised the cardinal in his palace or castle at St Andrews, and instantly put him to death. One of the assassins, named James Melvil, before he struck the fatal blow, turned the point of his sword towards Beatoun, and in a tone of pious exhortation called to him, "Repent thee, thou wicked Cardinal! of all thy sins "and iniquities; but especially of the murder of George "Wishart, that instrument of Christ for the conversion of "these lands. It is his death which now cries for vengeance. "We are sent by God to inflict the deserved punishment "upon thee [5]."

4. Spotswood. Buchanan. 5. Knox. Keith.

The

The conſpirators, though only ſixteen in number, took poſſeſſion of the caſtle, after turning out one by one the cardinal's formidable retinue; and being reinforced by their friends, they prepared themſelves for a vigorous defence, and ſent a meſſenger to London, craving aſſiſtance from Henry VIII. The death of that prince, which happened ſoon after, blaſted all their hopes. They received, however, during the ſiege, ſupplies both of money and proviſions from England; and if they had been able to hold out only a few weeks longer, they would have eſcaped that ſevere capitulation to which they were reduced, not by the regent alone, but by a body of troops ſent to his aſſiſtance from France.

Somerſet entered Scotland at the head of eighteen thouſand men; while a fleet of ſixty ſail, one half of which conſiſted of ſhips of war, and the other of veſſels laden with proviſions and military ſtores, appeared on the coaſt, in order to ſecond his operations, and ſupply his army. The earl of Arran, regent of Scotland, had for ſome time obſerved this ſtorm gathering, and was prepared to meet it. He had ſummoned together the whole force of the kingdom; and his army, double in number to that of the enemy, was poſted to the greateſt advantage on a riſing ground, guarded by the banks of the river Eſke, a little above Muſſelburgh, when the Protector came in view. Alarmed at the ſight of a force ſo formidable, and ſo happily diſpoſed, Somerſet made an overture of peace to the earl of Arran, on conditions very admiſſible. He offered to withdraw his troops, and compenſate the damage he had done by his inroad, provided the Scottiſh regency would engage to keep their young queen at home, and not to contract her to any foreign prince, until ſhe ſhould arrive to the age of maturity, when ſhe might chuſe a huſband without the conſent of her council. But this moderate demand was rejected by the Scottiſh regent with diſdain, and merely on account of its moderation. It was imputed to fear; and Arran, confident of ſucceſs, was afraid of nothing but the eſcape of the Engliſh army. He therefore

therefore left his ſtrong camp, as ſoon as he ſaw the protector begin to move toward the ſea, ſuſpecting that he intended to embark on board his fleet; and paſſing the river Eſke, advanced into the plain, and attacked the Engliſh army near the village of Pinkey, with no better ſucceſs than his raſhneſs deſerved.

Having drawn up his troops on an eminence, Somerſet had not now the advantage of ground on his ſide. The Scottiſh army conſiſted chiefly of infantry, whoſe principal weapon was a long ſpear, and whoſe files for that reaſon were deep and their ranks cloſe. A body ſo compact and firm eaſily reſiſted the attack of the Engliſh cavalry, broke them, and drove them off the field. Lord Grey, their commander, was dangerouſly wounded; lord Edward Seymour, ſon of the protector, had his horſe killed under him, and the royal ſtandard was near falling into the hands of the enemy. But the Scots being galled by the protector's artillery in front, and by the fire from the ſhips in flank, while the Engliſh archers, and a body of foreign fuſiliers, poured in volleys of ſhot upon them from all quarters, they at laſt began to give way: the rout became general, and the whole field was ſoon a ſcene of confuſion, terror, flight, and conſternation. The purſuit was long and bloody. Ten thouſand of the cots are ſaid to have fallen, and but a very inconſiderable number of the conquering enemy [6].

This victory, however, which ſeemed to threaten Scotland with final ſubjection, was of no real utility to England. It ſerved only to make the Scots throw themſelves inconſiderately into the arms of France, and ſend their young queen to be educated in that kingdom; a meaſure univerſally regarded as a prelude to her marriage with the dauphin, and which effectually diſappointed the views of Somerſet, and proved the ſource of Mary's accompliſhments as a woman, and of her misfortunes as a queen.—The Scottiſh nobles,

6. Patten. Hollingſhed.

in

in taking this ſtep, hurried away by the violence of reſentment, ſeem to have forgot that zeal for the independency of their crown, which had made them violate their engagements with Henry VIII. and oppoſe with ſo much ardour the arms of the protector.

The cabals of the Engliſh court obliged the duke of Somerſet to return, before he could take any effectual meaſures for the ſubjection of Scotland; and the ſupplies which the Scots received from France, enabled them, in a great meaſure, to expel their invaders, while the protector was employed in re-eſtabliſhing his authority, and in quelling domeſtic inſurrections. His brother, lord Seymour, a man of inſatiable ambition, had married the queen dowager, and openly aſpired at the government of the kingdom. In order to attain this object, he endeavoured to ſeduce the young king to his intereſts; found means to hold a private correſpondence with him, and publicly decried the protector's adminiſtration. He had brought over to his party many of the principal nobility, together with ſome of the moſt popular perſons of inferior rank; and he had provided arms for ten thouſand men, whom it was computed he could muſter from among his own domeſtics and retainers [7].

A. D. 1548.

Though appriſed of all theſe alarming circumſtances, Somerſet ſhewed no inclination to proceed to extremities. He endeavoured by the moſt friendly expedients, by reaſon, entreaty, and even by loading Seymour with new favours, to make him deſiſt from ſuch dangerous politics. But finding all his endeavours ineffectual, he began to think of more ſerious remedies; and the earl of Warwick, who hoped to raiſe his own fortune on the ruin of both, inflamed the quarrel between the brothers. By his advice lord Seymour was committed to the Tower, attainted of high treaſon, condemned, and executed [8].

7. Haynes, p. 105, 106. 8. Burnet, vol. ii.

The

The protector had now leisure to complete the Reformation, the great work which he had so successfully begun, in conjunction with Cranmer, the primate, and which was now the chief object of concern throughout the nation. A committee of bishops and divines had been appointed by the privy-council to compose a liturgy: they had executed the work committed to them, as already observed, with judgment and moderation; and they not unreasonably flattered themselves, that they had framed a service in which every denomination of Christians might concur. This form of worship, which was nearly the same with that at present authorised by law, was established by parliament in all the churches, and uniformity was ordered to be observed in all the rites and ceremonies[9]. A. D. 1549.

Thus, my dear Philip, in the course of a few years, was the Reformation happily completed in England; and its civil and religious consequences have since been deservedly valued. But there is no abuse in society so great as not to be attended with some advantages; and in the beginnings of innovation, the loss of those advantages is always sensibly felt by the bulk of a nation, before it can perceive the benefits resulting from the desirable change.

No institution can be imagined less favourable to the interests of mankind than that of the monastic life; yet was it followed by many effects, which having ceased with the suppression of monasteries, were much regretted by the people of England. The monks, by always residing at their convents, in the centre of their estates, spent their money in the country, and afforded a ready market for commodities. They were also acknowledged to have been in England, what they still are in kingdoms where the Romish religion is established, the best and most indulgent landlords; being limited by the rules of their order to a certain mode of living, and con-

9. 2 & 3 Edw. VI. cap. i.

ſequently having fewer motives for extortion than other men. The abbots and priors were beſides accuſtomed to grant leaſes at an under value, and to receive a preſent in return. But the abbey-lands fell under different management, when diſtributed among the principal nobility and gentry; the rents of farms were raiſed, while the tenants found not the ſame facility in diſpoſing of the produce. The money was often ſpent in the capital; and to increaſe the evil, paſturage in that age being found more profitable than tillage, whole eſtates were laid waſte by incloſure. The farmers, regarded as an uſeleſs burden, were expelled their habitations; and the cottagers, deprived even of the commons, on which they had formerly fed their cattle, were reduced to beggary [10].

Theſe grievances of the common people occaſioned inſurrections in ſeveral parts of England; and Somerſet, who loved popularity, imprudently encouraged them, by endeavouring to afford that redreſs which was not in his power. Tranquility, however, was ſoon reſtored to the kingdom by the vigilance of lord Ruſſel and the earl of Warwick, who cut many of the unhappy malcontents in pieces, and diſperſed the reſt. But the protector never recovered his authority. The nobility and gentry were in general diſpleaſed with the preference which he ſeemed to have given to the people; and as they aſcribed all the inſults to which they had been lately expoſed, to his procraſtination, and to the countenance ſhewn to the multitude, they apprehended a renewal of the ſame diſorders from his paſſion for popular fame. His enemies even attempted to turn the rage of the populace againſt him, by working upon the lower claſs among the Catholics; and having gained over to their party the lord mayor of London, the lieutenant of the Tower, and many of the great officers of ſtate, they obliged Somerſet to reſign the protectorſhip, and committed him to cuſtody. A council of regency was formed, in which the earl of War-

10. Strype, vol. ii.

wick,

wick, who had conducted this revolution, bore the chief ſway, and who actually governed the kingdom without the invidious title of protector[11].

The firſt act of Warwick's adminiſtration was the negociation of a treaty of peace with France and with Scotland. Henry II. had taken advantage of the diſturbances in England, to recover ſeveral places in the Boulonnois, and even to lay ſiege, though without effect, to Boulogne itſelf. He now took advantage, in treating, of the ſtate of the Engliſh court. Senſible of the importance of peace to Warwick and the party, the French monarch abſolutely refuſed to pay the two millions of crowns, which his predeceſſor had acknowledged to be due to the crown of England, as arrears of former ſtipulations. He would never conſent, he ſaid, to render himſelf tributary to any prince, alluding to the reverſion of annual payments demanded; but he offered a large ſum for the immediate reſtitution of Boulogne and its territory. Four hundred thouſand crowns were agreed on as the equivalent. Scotland was comprehended in this treaty. The Engliſh ſtipulated to reſtore ſome fortreſſes, which they ſtill held in that kingdom[12].

A. D. 1550.

Having thus eſtabliſhed his adminiſtration, freed the kingdom from all foreign danger, and gained partizans, who were diſpoſed to ſecond him in every domeſtic enterprize, the earl of Warwick began to think of carrying into execution thoſe vaſt projects which he had formed for his own aggrandiſement. The laſt earl of Northumberland had died without iſſue; and as his brother, ſir Thomas Percy, had been attainted on account of the ſhare which he took in the Yorkſhire inſurrection during the late reign, the title was at preſent extinct, and the eſtate was veſted in the crown. Warwick procured for himſelf a grant of that large eſtate, which lay chiefly in the North, the moſt warlike part of the kingdom, and was dignified with the title of duke of Northumberland. This was a great ſtep; but there

A. D. 1551.

11. Stowe. Burnet. Hollingſhed. 12. Burnet, vol. ii. Rymer, vol. xv.

was yet a ſtrong bar in the way of his ambition. Somerſet, though degraded, and leſſened in the public eſteem in conſequence of his ſpiritleſs conduct, continued to poſſeſs a conſiderable ſhare of popularity. Northumberland, therefore, reſolved to ruin the man he had injured, and whom he ſtill regarded as the chief obſtacle againſt the full attainment of his views. For that purpoſe, he employed his emiſſaries to ſuggeſt deſperate projects to this unguarded nobleman, and afterwards accuſed him of high treaſon for ſeem-
A. D. 1552. ing to acquieſce in them. Somerſet was tried, condemned, and executed on Tower-hill; and four of his friends ſhared the ſame unjuſt and unhappy fate. His death was ſincerely lamented by the people, to whom he had been peculiarly indulgent, and who regarded him as a martyr in their cauſe. Many of them dipped their handkerchiefs in his blood, which they long preſerved as a precious relique [13].

Northumberland might ſeem to have now attained the higheſt point of elevation, to which a ſubject could aſpire, and the greateſt degree of power. His rank was ſecond only to the royal family, his eſtate was one of the largeſt in the kingdom, and the government was entirely under his direction. But he aſpired after yet greater power and conſequence: his ambition knew no bounds. Having procured a parliament, which ratified his moſt deſpotic meaſures, and regulated its proceedings according to his will, he next endeavoured to ingratiate himſelf particularly with the young king, by manifeſting an uncommon zeal for the reformed religion; to which the opening mind of Edward was warmly devoted, and the intereſts of which more ſenſibly touched him than all other objects.

In his frequent converſations on this ſubject, Northumberland took occaſion to repreſent to that pious prince, whoſe health began viſibly to decline, the danger to which the Reformation would be expoſed, ſhould his ſiſter Mary, a bigotted Catholic, ſucceed to the throne of England; that al-

13. Hayward, p. 324, 325. Hollingſhed, p. 1068.

though

though no ſuch objection lay againſt the princeſs Elizabeth, he could not, with any degree of propriety, exclude one ſiſter, without alſo excluding the other; that both had been declared illegitimate by parliament; that the queen of Scots ſtood excluded by the late king's will, and was beſides attached to the church of Rome; that theſe three princeſſes being ſet aſide for ſuch ſolid reaſons, the ſucceſſion devolved on the marchioneſs of Dorſet, eldeſt daughter of the duke of Suffolk, and the French queen, his father's youngeſt ſiſter; that the apparent ſucceſſor to the marchioneſs was her daughter, lady Jane Gray, who was every way worthy of a crown.

Theſe arguments made a deep impreſſion upon the mind of Edward. He had long lamented the obſtinacy of his ſiſter Mary, in adhering to the Romiſh communion, and ſeemed to foreſee all the horrors of her reign. He reſpected, and even loved Elizabeth. But lady Jane Gray, being of the ſame age, had been educated along with him, and had commanded his eſteem and admiration, by the progreſs which ſhe made in every branch of literature. He had enjoyed full opportunity of becoming acquainted with the purity of her religious principles, a circumſtance that weighed with him above every other conſideration in the choice of a ſucceſſor; and it ſeems beſides probable, that her elegant perſon and amiable diſpoſition had inſpired his heart with a tender affection. He therefore liſtened to the propoſal of diſinheriting his ſiſters, with a patience which would otherwiſe have been highly criminal.

Meanwhile, Northumberland, finding he was likely to carry his principal point with the king, began to propoſe the other parts of his ſcheme. Two ſons of the duke of Suffolk, by a marriage ſubſequent to the death of the French queen, having died this ſeaſon of the Sweating Sickneſs (an epidemical malady which raged all over the kingdom), that title was become extinct. Northumberland perſuaded the king to beſtow it on the marquis of

A. D. 1553.

of Dorset; and by means of this and other favours, he obtained from the new duke and duchess of Suffolk, their eldest daughter lady Jane, in marriage to his fourth son, lord Guildford Dudley [14].

In order to complete his plan of ambition, it now only remained for Northumberland to procure the desired change in the succession; and, in the present languishing state of the king's health, after all the arguments that had been used, it was no difficult matter to obtain a deed to that effect from Edward. He met with more opposition from the judges, and other persons necessary to the execution of such a deed. But they, at last, were all silenced, either by threats or promises; and the great seal was affixed to the king's letters patent, settling the crown on the heirs of the duchess of Suffolk, she herself being content to give place to her daughters, or, in other words, to lady Jane, for whom she was sensible the change in the succession had been projected.

The king died soon after this singular transaction; and so much the sooner by being put into the hands of an ignorant woman, who undertook to restore him, in a little time, to his former state of health.—Most of our historians, but especially such as were well affected to the Reformation, dwell with peculiar pleasure on the excellent qualities of this young prince, whom (as an elegant writer observes) the flattering promises of hope, joined to many real virtues, had made an object of fond regard to the public; and making allowance for the delicacy of his frame, and the manners of the age in which he lived, he seems to have possessed all the accomplishments that could be expected in a youth of sixteen.

Aware of the opposition that would be made to the concerted change in the succession, Northumberland had carefully concealed the destination of the crown signed by Edward. He even kept that prince's death secret for a while, in hopes of getting the two princesses into his power. With

14. Strype. Heylin. Stowe.

this view, he engaged the council to desire their attendance at court, under pretence that the king's infirm state of health required the assistance of their advice, and the consolation of their company. All obedience or anxiety, they instantly left their several retreats in the country, and set out for London; but happily, before their arrival, they both got intelligence of their brother's death, and of the conspiracy formed against themselves. Mary, who had advanced as far as Hodsdon, when she received this notice, made haste to retire, and wrote letters to the nobility and most considerable gentry in every county of England, commanding them to assist her in the defence of her crown and person[15].

Farther dissimulation, Northumberland now saw, would be fruitless; he therefore went to Sion-house, where lady Jane Gray resided, accompanied by a body of the nobility, and approaching her with the respect usually paid to the sovereign, informed her of her elevation to the throne. Lady Jane, who was in a great measure ignorant of the intrigues of her father-in-law, received this information with equal grief and surprize. She even refused to accept the crown; pleaded the preferable title of the two princesses; expressed her dread of the consequences attending an enterprize so dangerous, nay so criminal, and begged to remain in that private station in which she was born. Her heart, full of the passion for literature and the elegant arts, and of affection for her husband, who was worthy of all her regard, had never opened itself to the flattering allurements of ambition. Overcome, however, at last by the entreaties rather than the reasons of her relations, she submitted to their will; and Northumberland immediately conveyed her to London, where she was proclaimed queen, but without one applauding voice.

The people heard the proclamation with silence and concern: the very preachers employed their eloquence in vain to convince their auditors of the justice of lady Jane's title.

15. Burnet. Fox. Heylin.

Respect for the royal line, and indignation against the Dudleys, was stronger, even in the breasts of the Protestants, than the dread of popery [16].

Meantime the inhabitants of Suffolk, whither the princess Mary had fled, resorted to her in crowds; and when she assured them, that she never meant to alter the laws of Edward VI. concerning religion, they zealously enlisted themselves in her cause. The nobility and gentry daily flocked to her with reinforcements. Sir Edward Hastings, brother to the earl of Huntingdon, carried over to her four thousand men, levied for the support of her rival. The fleet declared for her. Even the earl of Suffolk, who commanded in the Tower, finding resistance fruitless, opened the gates of that fortress: and lady Jane, after the vain pageantry of wearing a crown during ten days, returned without a sigh to the privacy of domestic life. The council ordered Mary to be proclaimed; and Northumberland, deserted by his followers, and despairing of success, complied with that order with exterior marks of joy and satisfaction. He was brought to trial, however, and condemned and executed for high treason. Sentence was also pronounced against lady Jane Gray and lord Guildford Dudley; but they were respited on account of their youth, neither of them having attained the age of seventeen [17].

No sooner was Mary seated on the throne than a total change took place both in men and measures. They who had languished in confinement were lifted to the helm of power, and intrusted with the government of the church as well as of the state. Gardiner, Bonner, and other Catholic bishops, were restored to their sees, and admitted to the queen's favour and confidence; while the most eminent protestant prelates and zealous reformers, Ridley, Hooper, Latimer, Coverdale, and Cranmer, were thrown into prison. The men of Suffolk were brow-beaten, because they pre-

16. Ibid.

17. Heylin. Burnet.

ſumed to plead the queen's promiſe of maintaining the reformed religion; and one, more bold than the reſt, in recalling to her memory the engagements into which ſhe had entered, when they enliſted themſelves in her ſervice, was ſet in the pillory. A parliament was procured entirely conformable to the ſentiments of the court, and a bill paſſed declaring the queen to be legitimate; ratifying the marriage of Henry VIII. with Catharine of Arragon, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer. All the ſtatutes of Edward VI. reſpecting religion were repealed; and the queen ſent aſſurances to the pope of her earneſt deſire of reconciling herſelf and her kingdoms to the Holy See, and requeſting that cardinal Pole might be appointed legate for the performance of that pious office [18].

Reginald Pole was deſcended from the royal family of England, being fourth ſon of the counteſs of Saliſbury, daughter of the duke of Clarence. He gave early indications of that fine genius, and generous diſpoſition, by which he was ſo much diſtinguiſhed during his more advanced age; and Henry VIII. having conceived great friendſhip for him, propoſed to raiſe him to the higheſt eccleſiaſtical dignities. As a pledge of future favours, Henry conferred on him the deanry of Exeter, the better to ſupport him in his education. But when the king of England broke with the court of Rome, Pole not only refuſed to ſecond his meaſures, but wrote againſt him in a treatiſe on the *Unity of the Church*. This performance produced an irreparable breach between the young eccleſiaſtic and his ſovereign, and blaſted all Pole's hopes of riſing in the Engliſh church. He was not, however, allowed to ſink. The pope and the emperor thought themſelves bound to provide for a man of ſo much eminence; who, in ſupport of their cauſe, had ſacrificed all his pretenſions to fortune in his own country. Pole was created a cardinal, and ſent legate into Flanders. But he took no

18. Burnet, vol. ii.

higher than deacon's orders, which did not condemn him to celibacy; and he was ſuſpected of having aſpired to the Engliſh crown, by means of a marriage with the princeſs Mary, during the life of her father. The marquis of Exeter, lord Montacute, the cardinal's brother, and ſeveral other perſons of rank, ſuffered for this conſpiracy, whether real or pretended. To hold a correſpondence with that obnoxious fugitive, was deemed perhaps ſufficient guilt. It was enough, at leaſt, to expoſe them to the indignation of Henry; and his will, on many occaſions, is known to have uſurped the place of both law and equity.

But whatever doubt may remain of Pole's intrigues for obtaining the crown of England, through an alliance with Mary, it is certain that SHE was no ſooner ſeated upon the throne, than ſhe thought of making him the partner of her ſway. The cardinal, however, being now in the decline of life, was repreſented to the queen as unqualified for the buſtle of a court, and the fatigue of buſineſs. She therefore laid aſide all thoughts of him, as a huſband; but as ſhe entertained an high eſteem for his wiſdom and virtue, ſhe ſtill propoſed to reap the benefit of his counſels in the adminiſtration of her government—and hence her requeſt to the pope.

This alliance, and one with the earl of Devonſhire, being rejected for various reaſons, the queen turned her eye toward the houſe of Auſtria, and there found a ready correſpondence with her views. Charles V. whoſe ambition was boundleſs, no ſooner had heard of the acceſſion of his kinſwoman Mary to the crown of England, than he formed the ſcheme of obtaining the kingdom for his ſon Philip; hoping by that acquiſition to balance the loſſes he had ſuſtained in Germany. And Philip, although eleven years younger than Mary, who was deſtitute of every external beauty or grace, gave his conſent, without heſitation, to the match propoſed by his father. The emperor, therefore, immediately ſent over an agent to ſignify his intentions to the queen of England; who, flattered with the proſpect of marrying the preſumptive heir of the

greatest monarch in Europe, pleased with the support of so powerful an alliance, and happy to unite herself more closely to her mother's family, to which she had always been warmly attached, gladly embraced the proposal. The earls of Norfolk and Arundel, lord Paget, whom she had promoted, and bishop Gardiner now become prime minister, finding how Mary's inclinations leaned, gave their opinion in favour of the Spanish alliance; but as they were sensible the prospect of it diffused universal apprehension and terror for the liberty and independency of the kingdom, the marriage articles were drawn up with all possible attention to the interest and security, and even to the grandeur of England. The emperor agreed to whatever was thought necessary to soothe the fears of the people, or quiet the jealousies of the nobility. The chief articles were, That Philip, during his marriage with Mary, should bear the title of king, but that the administration should be vested solely in the queen; that no foreigner should be capable of holding any office in the kingdom; that no innovation should be made in the English laws, customs, or privileges; that Philip should not carry the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; that the male issue of the marriage should inherit, together with England, Burgundy, and the Low Countries; that if Don Carlos, Philip's son by a former marriage, should die without issue, Mary's issue, whether male or female, should succeed to the crown of Spain and all the emperor's hereditary dominions; and that Philip, if the queen should die before him, without issue, should leave the crown of England to the lawful heir, without claiming any right of administration whatsoever [19].

A. D. 1554.

But this treaty, though framed with so much caution and skill, was far from reconciling the English nation to the Spanish alliance. It was universally said, that the emperor,

19. Rymer, vol. xv. Burnet, vol. ii.

in

in order to get posseffion of England, would agree to any terms; and that the more favourable the conditions which he had granted, the more certainly might it be concluded he had no serious intention of observing them. His general character was urged in support of these observations; and it was added, That Philip, while he inherited his father's vices, fraud and ambition, united to them more dangerous vices of his own, sullen pride and barbarity. England seemed already a province of Spain, groaning under the load of despotism, and subjected to all the horrors of the inquisition. The people were every where ripe for rebellion, and wanted only an able leader to have subverted the queen's authority. No such leader appeared. The more prudent part of the nobility thought it would be soon enough to correct ills when they began to be felt. Some turbulent spirits, however, judged it safer to prevent than to redress grievances. They accordingly formed a conspiracy to rise in arms, and declare against the queen's marriage with Philip. Sir Thomas Wyat proposed to raise Kent: sir Peter Carew, Devonshire; and the duke of Suffolk was engaged, by the hopes of recovering the crown for lady Jane Gray, to attempt raising the midland counties. But these conspirators imprudently breaking concert, and rising at different times, were soon humbled. Wyat and Suffolk lost their heads, as did lady Jane Gray and her husband lord Guildford Dudley, to whom the duke's guilt was imputed.

This fond and unfortunate couple died with much piety and fortitude. It had been intended to execute them on the same scaffold on Tower-hill; but the council, dreading the compassion of the people for their youth, beauty, and innocence, changed its orders, and gave directions that lady Jane should be beheaded within the verge of the Tower. She refused to take leave of her husband on the day of their execution; assigning as a reason, that the tenderness of parting might unbend their minds from that firmness which their approaching doom required of them. "Our separation," added she, "will

"will be but for a moment; we ſhall ſoon rejoin each other "in a ſcene where our affections will be for ever united, "and where death, diſappointment, and misfortune, can no "longer diſturb our felicity [20]." She ſaw lord Guilford led to execution, without diſcovering any ſign of weakneſs; ſhe even calmly met his headleſs body, as ſhe was going to execution herſelf, returning to be interred in the chapel of the Tower, and intrepidly deſired to proceed to the fatal ſpot, emboldened by the reports which ſhe had received of the magnanimity of his behaviour. On that occaſion ſhe wrote in her Table-book three ſentences; one in Greek, one in Latin, and one in Engliſh. The meaning of them was, that although human juſtice was againſt her huſband's body, divine mercy would be favourable to his ſoul; that if her fault deſerved puniſhment, her youth and inexperience ought to plead her excuſe; and that God and poſterity, ſhe truſted, would ſhew her favour. On the ſcaffold ſhe behaved with great mildneſs and compoſure, and ſubmitted herſelf to the ſtroke of the executioner with a ſteady and ſerene countenance [21].

The queen's authority was much ſtrengthened by the ſuppreſſion of this rebellion, commonly called Wyat's, from the figure which he made in it; and the arrival of Philip in England gave ſtill more ſtability to her government. For although that prince's behaviour was ill calculated to remove the prejudices which the Engliſh nation had entertained againſt him, being diſtant in his addreſs, and ſo entrenched in form and ceremony, as to be in a manner inacceſſible, his liberality, if money diſburſed for the purpoſes of corruption can deſerve that name, made him many friends among the nobility and gentry. Cardinal Pole alſo arrived in England about the ſame time with legantine powers from the pope; and both houſes of parliament voted an addreſs to Philip and Mary, acknowledging that the nation had been guilty of a moſt horrible defection from the true church; declaring their

20. Heylin, p. 167. Fox, vol. iii.

21. Id. Ibid.

resolution

resolution to repeal all laws enacted in prejudice of the Romish religion; and praying their majesties, happily uninfected with that criminal schism! to intercede with the Holy Father for the absolution and forgiveness of their penitent subjects. The request was readily granted. The legate, in the name of his Holiness, gave the parliament and kingdom absolution, freed them from all ecclesiastical censures, and received them again into the bosom of the church[22].

In consequence of this reconciliation with the see of Rome, the punishment by fire, that frightful expedient of superstition for extending her empire, and preserving her dominion, was rigorously employed against the most eminent reformers. The mild counsels of cardinal Pole, who was inclined to toleration, were over-ruled by Gardiner and Bonner, and many persons of all conditions, ages, and sexes were committed to the flames. The persecutors made their first attack upon Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; a man equally distinguished by his piety and learning, but whose domestic situation, it was hoped, would bring him to compliance. He had a wife whom he tenderly loved, and ten children: yet did he continue firm in his principles, and such was his serenity after condemnation, that the gaolers, it is said, waked him from a sound sleep, when the hour of his execution approached. He suffered in Smithfield. Hooper,
A. D. 1555. bishop of Gloucester, was condemned at the same time with Rogers, but sent to his own diocese to be punished, in order to strike the greater terror into his flock. The constancy of his death, however, had a very contrary effect. It was a scene of consolation to Hooper to die in their sight, bearing testimony to that doctrine which he had formerly taught among them. He continued to exhort them, till his tongue, swollen by the violence of his agony, denied him utterance: and his words were long remembered[23].

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's, also suffered this terrible

22. Burnet, vol. ii. Fox, vol. iii.
23. Id. Ibid.

punishment in his own diocese. And Ridley, bishop of London, and Latimer, formerly bishop of Worcester, two prelates venerable by their years, their learning and their piety, perished together in the same fire at Oxford, supporting each other's constancy by their mutual exhortations. Latimer, when tied to the stake, called to his companion, "Be of good cheer, my brother! we shall this day kindle "such a flame in England, as, I trust in God, will never be "extinguished [24]."

Sanders, a respectable clergyman, was committed to the flames at Coventry. A pardon was offered him if he would recant: but he rejected it with disdain, and embraced the stake, saying, "Welcome, cross of Christ! welcome ever-"lasting life!" Cranmer had less courage at first. Overawed by the prospect of those tortures which awaited him, or overcome by the fond love of life, and by the flattery of artful men, who pompously represented the dignities to which his character still entitled him, if he would merit them by a recantation, he agreed, in an unguarded hour, to subscribe the doctrines of the papal supremacy and the real presence. But Mary and her council, no less perfidious than cruel, determined, that this recantation should avail him nothing; that he should acknowledge his errors in the church before the people, and afterward be led to execution. Whether Cranmer received secret intelligence of their design, or repented of his weakness, or both, is uncertain, but he surprised the audience by a declaration very different from that which was expected from him. After explaining his sense of what he owed to God and his sovereign, "There is one miscar-"riage in my life," said he, "of which, above all others, I "severely repent—the insincere declaration of faith to which "I had the weakness to subscribe; but I take "this opportunity of atoning for my error by a "sincere and open recantation, and am willing to seal with

A. D. 1556.

24. Fox, vol. iii. Burnet, vol. ii.

"my

"my blood that doctrine which I firmly believe to have "been communicated from Heaven."

As his hand, he added, had erred, by betraying his heart, it should first be punished by a severe but just doom. He accordingly stretched out his arm, as soon as he came to the stake, to which he was instantly led, and without discovering, either by his looks or motions, the least sign of compunction, or even of feeling, he held his right-hand in the flames, till it was utterly consumed. His thoughts appeared to be totally occupied in reflecting on his former fault; and he called aloud several times, "This hand has offended!" When it dropped off, he discovered a serenity in his countenance, as if satisfied with sacrificing to divine justice the instrument of his crime; and when the fire attacked his body, his soul, wholly collected within itself, seemed fortified against every external accident, and altogether inaccessible to pain[25].

It would be endless, my dear Philip, to enumerate all the cruelties practised in England during this bigotted reign, near three hundred persons having been brought to the stake in the first rage of persecution. Besides, the savage barbarity on one hand, and the patient constancy on the other, are so similar, in all those martyrdoms, that a narration, very little agreeable in itself, would become altogether disgusting by its uniformity. It is sufficient to have mentioned the sufferings of our most eminent reformers, whose character and condition make such notice necessary. I shall therefore conclude this subject with observing, that human nature appears on no occasion so detestable, and at the same time so absurd, as in these religious horrors, which sink mankind below infernal spirits in wickedness, and beneath the brutes in folly. Bishop Bonner seemed to rejoice in the torments of the victims of persecution. He sometimes whipped the Protestant prisoners, with his own hands, till he was tired with the violence of the exercise: he tore out the beard of a weaver, who refused to

25. Fox, vol. iii. Burnet, vol. ii.

relinquish

relinquiſh his religion; and, in order to give the obſtinate heretic a more ſenſible idea of burning, he held his finger to the candle, till the ſinews and veins ſhrunk and burſt [26]. All theſe examples prove that no human depravity can equal revenge and cruelty, inflamed by theological hate.

But the members of the Engliſh parliament, though ſo obſequious to the queen's will in reuniting the kingdom to the ſee of Rome, and in authoriſing the butchery of their fellow-ſubjects who rejected the Catholic faith, had ſtill ſome regard left both to their own and the national intereſt. They refuſed to reſtore the poſſeſſions of the church. And Mary failed, not only in an attempt to get her huſband declared preſumptive heir to the crown, and to obtain the conſent of parliament for veſting the adminiſtration in his hands, but in all her political hopes. She could not ſo much as obtain a parliamentary conſent to his coronation.

The queen likewiſe met with much and long oppoſition from parliament in another favourite meaſure; namely, in an attempt to engage the nation in the war which was kindled between France and Spain. The motion was for a time laid aſide; and Philip, diſguſted with Mary's importunate love, which was equal to that of a girl of eighteen, and with her jealouſy and ſpleen, which increaſed with her declining years and her deſpair of having iſſue, had gone over to his father Charles V. in Flanders. The voluntary reſignation of the emperor, ſoon after this viſit, put Philip in poſſeſſion of all the wealth of America, and of the richeſt and moſt extenſive dominions in Europe. He did not, however, lay aſide his attention to the affairs of England, of which he ſtill hoped to have the direction; and he came over to London, in order to ſupport his parliamentary friends in a new motion for a French war. This meaſure was zealouſly oppoſed by ſeveral of the queen's moſt able counſellors, and particularly by cardinal Pole, who

A. D. 1557.

26. Fox, vol. iii.

having taken priest's orders, had been installed in the see of Canterbury, on the death of Cranmer. But hostilities having been begun by France, as was pretended, war was at last denounced against that kingdom; and an army of ten thousand men was sent over to the Low Countries, under the command of the earl of Pembroke[27].

A like attempt was made in Scotland by the French monarch to engage that kingdom in a war with England. Mary of Guise, the queen dowager, had obtained the regency through the intrigues of the court of France, and Henry II. now requested her to take part in the common quarrel. She accordingly summoned a convention of the states, and asked their concurrence for commencing hostilities against England. But the Scottish nobles, who were become as jealous of the French, as the English were of Spanish influence, refused their assent; and the regent had in vain recourse to stratagem, in order to accomplish her purpose.

The French monarch, however, without the assistance of his ancient allies, and notwithstanding the unfortunate battle of St. Quintin, of which I shall afterward have occasion to speak, made himself master of Calais, which the English had held upwards of two hundred years; and which, as it opened to them an easy and secure entry into the heart of France, was regarded as the most valuable foreign possession belonging to the crown. This important place was recovered by the vigilance and valour of the duke of Guise; who, informed that the English, trusting to the strength of the town, deemed in that age impregnable, were accustomed to recall towards the close of summer, great part of the garrison, and to replace it in the spring, undertook in the depth of winter, and succeeded in an enterprize, that surprized his own countrymen no less than his enemies. As he knew that success depended upon celerity, he pushed his attacks with such

27. Burnet, vol. ii. Strype, vol. iii.

vigour,

vigour, that the governor was obliged to ſurrender on the eighth day of the ſiege[28].

The joy of the French on that occaſion was extreme. Their vanity indulged itſelf in the utmoſt exultation of triumph, while the Engliſh gave vent to all the paſſions which agitate a high ſpirited people, when any great national miſfortune is evidently the conſequence of the miſconduct of their rulers. They murmured loudly againſt the queen and her council; who, after engaging the nation in a fruitleſs war, for the ſake of foreign intereſt, had thus expoſed it, by their negligence, to ſo ſevere a diſgrace.

This event, together with the conſciouſueſs of being hated by her ſubjects, and deſpiſed by her huſband, ſo much affected the queen of England, whoſe health had long been declining, that ſhe fell into a low fever, which put an end to her ſhort and inglorious reign. A. D. 1558. "When I am dead," ſaid ſhe to her attendants, you will "find Calais at my heart." Mary poſſeſſed few qualities either eſtimable or amiable. Her perſon was as little engaging as her manners; and amid that complication of vices which entered into her compoſition, namely obſtinacy, bigotry, violence, and cruelty, we ſcarcely find any virtue but ſincerity.

Before the queen's death, negociations had been opened for a general peace. Among other conditions, the king of France demanded the reſtitution of Navarre to its lawful owner; the king of Spain, that of Calais and its territory to England. But the death of Mary ſomewhat altered the firmneſs of the Spaniſh monarch in regard to that capital article. And before I ſpeak of the treaty which was afterward ſigned at Chateau Cambreſis, and which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, I muſt carry forward the affairs of the continent. Meantime it will be proper to ſay a few words

28. Thuanus, lib. xx. cap. ii.

of the princeſs Elizabeth, who now ſucceeded to the throne of England.

The Engliſh nation was under great apprehenſions for the life of this princeſs, during her ſiſter's whole reign. The attachment of Elizabeth to the reformed religion offended Mary's bigotry; and menaces had been employed to bring her to a recantation. The violent hatred which the queen entertained againſt her, broke out on every occaſion; and all her own diſtinguiſhed prudence was neceſſary, in order to prevent the fatal effects of it. She retired into the country; and knowing that ſhe was ſurrounded with ſpies, ſhe paſſed her time wholly in reading and ſtudy. She complied with the eſtabliſhed mode of worſhip, and eluded all queſtions in regard to religion. When aſked, on purpoſe to gather her opinion of the *real preſence*, what ſhe thought of theſe words of Chriſt, "This is my body?"—and whether ſhe believed it the *true* body of Chriſt that was in the ſacrament of the Lord's Supper? ſhe replied thus:

"Chriſt was the Word that ſpake it;
"He took the bread and brake it;
"And what the word did make it,
"That I believe and take it[29]."

After the death of her ſiſter, Elizabeth delivered her ſentiments more freely: and the firſt act of her adminiſtration was the re-eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant religion. The liturgy was again introduced in the Engliſh tongue, and the oath of ſupremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of biſhops had been reduced to fourteen, by a ſickly ſeaſon, which preceded this change; and all theſe, except the biſhop of Landaff, having refuſed compliance, were deprived of their ſees. But of the great body of the Engliſh clergy, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and

A. D. 1559.

29. Baker. Strype. Camden.

as

as many deans, facrificed their livings for their theological opinions [30].

This change in religion completed the joy of the people, on account of the acceffion of Elizabeth; the aufpicious commencement of whofe reign may be faid to have prognofticated that felicity and glory which uniformly attended it. Thefe particulars, my dear Philip, will make all retrofpect in the affairs of England unneceffary, beyond the treaty of Chateau Cambrefis.

30. Ibid.

LETTER LXIII.

The Continent of EUROPE, *from the Peace of* PASSAU, *in* 1552, *to the Peace of* CHATEAU CAMBRESIS, *in* 1559.

THE treaty of Paffau was no fooner figned than Maurice, the deliverer of Germany, marched into Hungary againft the Turks, at the head of twenty thoufand men, in confequence of his engagements with Ferdinand, whom the hopes of fuch affiftance had made the moft zealous advocate of the confederates. But the vaft fuperiority of the Turkifh armies, together with the diffenfions between Maurice and Caftaldo, the Auftrian general, who was piqued at being fuperceded in the command, prevented the elector from performing any thing in that country worthy of his former fame, or of much benefit to the king of the Romans.

In the mean time Charles V. deeply affected for the lofs of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, which had formed the barrier of the empire on the fide of France, and would now fecure the frontier of Champagne, left his inglorious retreat at Villach, and put himfelf at the head of thofe forces which he had affembled againft the confederates, determined to recover the

the three bishopricks. In order to conceal the destination of his army, he circulated a report that he intended to lead it into Hungary, to second Maurice in his operations against the infidels; and as that pretext failed him, when he began to approach the Rhine, he pretended that he was marching first to chastise Albert of Brandenburg, who had refused to be included in the treaty of Passau, and whose cruel exactions in that part of Germany called loudly for redress.

A. D. 1552.

The French, however, were not deceived by these artifices. Henry II. immediately guessed the true object of the emperor's armament, and resolved to defend his conquests with vigour. The defence of Metz, against which it was foreseen the whole weight of the war would be turned, was committed to Francis of Lorrain, duke of Guise, who possessed in an eminent degree all the qualities that render men great in military command. To courage, sagacity, and presence of mind, he added that magnanimity of soul which delights in bold enterprizes, and aspires after fame by splendid and extraordinary actions. He repaired with joy to the dangerous station; and many of the French nobility, and even princes of the blood, eager to distinguish themselves under such a leader, entered Metz as volunteers. They were all necessary. The city was of great extent, ill fortified, and the suburbs large. For all these defects the duke endeavoured to provide a remedy. He repaired the old fortifications with all possible expedition, labouring with his own hands: the officers imitated his example; and the soldiers, thus encouraged, chearfully submitted to the most severe toils. He erected new works, and he levelled the suburbs with the ground. At the same time he filled the magazines with provisions and military stores, compelled all useless persons to leave the place, and laid waste the neighbouring country; yet such were his popular talents, and his power of acquiring an ascendant over the minds of men, that the citizens not only refrained from murmuring, but seconded him

him with no less ardour than the soldiers in all his operations—in the ruin of their estates, and in the havock of their public and private buildings [1].

Meanwhile the emperor continued his march toward Lorrain at the head of sixty thousand men. On his approach, Albert of Brandenburg, whose army did not exceed twenty thousand, withdrew into that duchy, as if he intended to join the French king; and Charles, notwithstanding the declining season, it being the month of October, laid siege to Metz, contrary to the advice of his most experienced officers.

The attention of both the besiegers and the besieged was turned for a time to the motions of Albert, who still hovered in the neighbourhood, undetermined which side to take, though resolved to sell his services. Charles at last came up to his price, and he joined the imperial army. The emperor now flattered himself that nothing could resist his force; but he found himself deceived. After a siege of almost sixty days, during which he had attempted all that was thought possible for art or valour to effect, and had lost upward of thirty thousand men by the inclemency of the weather, diseases, or the sword of the enemy, he was obliged to abandon the enterprize. "Fortune," said Charles, "I now perceive "like other fine ladies, chuses to confer her favours on "young men, and forsake those advanced in years [2]."

This saying has been thought gallant, and perhaps it is so; but the occasion merited more serious reflections. When the French sallied out to attack the enemy's rear, a spectacle presented itself to their view which extinguished at once all hostile rage, and melted them into compassion. The imperial camp was filled with the sick and wounded, with the dead and the dying. All the roads by which the army retired were strewed with the same miserable objects; who having made an effort beyond their strength to escape, and not being able to proceed, were left to perish without assistance.

1. Thuan. lib. xi. 2. Id. Ibid.

Happily that, and all the kind offices which their friends had not the power to perform, they received from their enemies. The duke of Guiſe ordered them all to be taken care of, and ſupplied with every neceſſary. He appointed phyſicians to attend, and direct what treatment was proper for the ſick and wounded, and what refreſhments for the feeble; and ſuch as recovered, he ſent home, under a ſafe eſcort, and with money to bear their charges[3]. By theſe acts of humanity, leſs common in that age than the preſent, the duke of Guiſe completed that heroic character, which he had juſtly acquired, by his brave and ſucceſsful defence of Metz.

The emperor's misfortunes were not confined to Germany. During his reſidence at Villach, he had been obliged to borrow two hundred thouſand crowns from Coſmo of Medicis; and ſo low was his credit, that he was obliged to put that prince in poſſeſſion of the territory of Piombino, as a ſecurity for the repayment of the money. By this ſtep he loſt the footing he had hitherto maintained in Tuſcany, and nearly at the ſame time he loſt Sienna. The Sieneſe, who had long enjoyed a republican government, roſe againſt the Spaniſh garriſon, which they had admitted as a check upon the tyranny of the nobility, but which they now found was meant to enſlave them. Forgetting their domeſtic animoſities, they recalled the exiled nobles; demoliſhed the citadel, and put themſelves under the protection of France[4].

Theſe unfortunate events were followed by the moſt alarming dangers. The ſevere adminiſtration of the viceroy of Naples had filled that kingdom with murmuring and diſſatisfaction. The prince of Salerno, the head of the malcontents, fled to the court of France. The French monarch, after the example of his father, had formed an alliance with the grand-ſeignior; and Solyman, at that time highly incenſed againſt the houſe of Auſtria, on account of the proceed-

3. Thuan. lib. vi. P. Daniel, *Hiſt. de France*, tom. iv. Father Daniel's account of this ſiege is copied from the Journal of the Sieur de Salignac, who was preſent at it.

4. *Mem. de Ribier.*

ings in Hungary, ſent a powerful fleet into the Mediterranean, under the command of the corſair Dragut, an officer trained up under Barbaroſſa, and little inferior to his maſter in courage, talents, or in good fortune. Dragut appeared on the coaſt of Calabria, where he expected to be joined by a French ſquadron; but not meeting with it according to concert, he returned to Conſtantinople, after plundering and burning ſeveral places, and filling Naples with conſternation[5].

Highly chagrined by ſo many diſaſters, Charles retired into the Low-Countries, breathing vengeance againſt France. Meantime, Germany was ſtill diſturbed by the reſtleſs ambition of Albert of Brandenburg; and as that prince obſtinately continued his violences, notwithſtanding a decree of the imperial chamber, a league was formed againſt him by the moſt powerful princes in the empire, of which Maurice was declared the head. This confederacy, however, wrought no change in the ſentiments of Albert. But as he knew that he could not reſiſt ſo many princes, if they had leiſure to unite their forces, he marched directly againſt Maurice, whom he dreaded moſt, and hoped to cruſh before he could receive ſupport from his allies; though in that he was deceived. Maurice was ready to oppoſe him. A. D. 1553.

These hoſtile chiefs, whoſe armies were nearly equal in numbers, each conſiſting of twenty-four thouſand men, met at Siverhauſen in the duchy of Lunenburgh. There an obſtinate battle was fought, in which the combat long remained doubtful, each gaining ground upon the other alternately; but at laſt victory declared for Maurice, who was ſuperior in cavalry. Albert's army fled in confuſion, leaving four thouſand men dead on the field, and their baggage and artillery in the hands of the enemy. But the allies bought their victory dear. Their beſt troops ſuf- July. 9.

5. Id. Ibid.

fered greatly; ſeveral perſons of diſtinction fell; and Maurice himſelf received a wound of which he died two days after, in the thirty-ſecond year of his age. No prince, ancient or modern, ever perhaps diſcovered ſuch deep political ſagacity at ſo early a period of life. As he left only one one daughter, afterwards married to the famous William, prince of Orange, John Frederic, the degraded elector, claimed the electoral dignity, and that part of his patrimonial eſtate of which he had been ſtripped during the Smalkaldic war; but the ſtates of Saxony, forgetting the merits and ſufferings of their former maſter, declared in favour of Auguſtus, Maurice's brother. The unfortunate, but magnanimous, John Frederic, died ſoon after this diſappointment which he bore with his uſual firmneſs [6]; and the electoral dignity is ſtill poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of Auguſtus.

The conſternation which Maurice's death occaſioned among his troops, prevented them from making a proper uſe of their victory; ſo that Albert, having re-aſſembled his broken forces, and made freſh levies, renewed his depredations with additional fury. But being defeated in a ſecond battle, ſcarce leſs bloody than the former, by Henry of Brunſwick, who had taken the command of the allied army, he was driven from all his hereditary dominions, as well as from thoſe he had uſurped; was laid under the ban of the empire, and obliged to take refuge in France, where he lingered out a few years in an indigent and dependent ſtate of exile [7].

Sept. 12.

During theſe tranſactions in Germany, war was carried on in the Low-Countries with conſiderable vigour. Impatient to efface the ſtain which his military reputation had received before Metz, Charles laid ſiege to Terouane; and the fortifications being out of repair, that important place

6. Arnoldi, *Vit. Maurit.* Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book x.
7. Id. Ibid.

was

was carried by aſſault. Heſden alſo was inveſted, and carried in the ſame manner. The king of France was too late in aſſembling his forces, to afford relief to either of theſe places; and the emperor afterwards cautiouſly avoided an engagement, during the remainder of the campaign.

The imperial arms were leſs ſucceſsful in Italy. The viceroy of Naples failed in an attempt to recover Siena; and the French not only eſtabliſhed themſelves more firmly in Tuſcany, but conquered part of the iſland of Corſica. Nor did the affairs of the houſe of Auſtria wear a better aſpect in Hungary during the courſe of this year. Iſabella and her ſon appeared once more in Tranſylvania, at a time when the people were ready for revolt, in order to revenge the death of Martinuzzi, whoſe loſs they had ſeverely felt. Some noblemen of eminence declared in favour of the young king: and the baſhaw of Belgrade, by Solyman's order, eſpouſing his cauſe, Caſtaldo, the Auſtrian general, was obliged to abandon Tranſylvania to Iſabella and the Turks[8].

In order to counterbalance theſe and other loſſes, the emperor, as has been already related, concerted a marriage between his ſon Philip and Mary of England, in hopes of adding this kingdom to his other dominions. Meanwhile the war between Henry and Charles was carried on with various ſucceſs in the Low-Countries, and in Italy, much to the diſadvantage of France. The French, under the command of Strozzi, a Florentine nobleman, were defeated in the battle of Marciano; Siena was reduced by Medicino, the imperial general, after a ſiege of ten months, and the gallant Sieneſe were again ſubjected to the Spaniſh yoke. Nearly at the ſame time a plot was formed by the Franciſcans, but happily diſcovered before it could be carried into execution, for betraying Metz to the Imperialiſts. The father guardian and twenty other monks received ſentence of death on account

A. D. 1554.

A. D. 1555.

8. Thuanus, lib. xv.

of this conspiracy; but the guardian, before the time appointed for his execution, was murdered by his incensed accomplices, whom he had seduced from their allegiance, and six of the youngest were pardoned [9].

While war thus raged in Italy and the Low Countries, accompanied with all its train of miseries, and all the crimes to which ambition gives birth, Germany enjoyed such profound tranquillity, as afforded the diet full leisure to confirm and perfect the plan of religious pacification agreed upon at Passau, and referred to the consideration of the next meeting of the Germanic body. For this purpose a diet had been summoned to meet at Augsburgh, soon after the conclusion of the treaty; but the commotions excited by Albert of Brandenburg, and the attention which Ferdinand was obliged to pay to the affairs of Hungary, had hitherto obstructed its deliberations. The following stipulations were at last settled, and formally published; namely, "That such princes "and cities as have declared their approbation of the Con-"fession of Augsburg, shall be permitted to profess and ex-"ercise, without molestation, the doctrine and worship "which it authorises; that the popish ecclesiastics shall "claim no spiritual jurisdiction in such cities or principali-"ties, nor shall the protestants molest the princes and states "that adhere to the church of Rome; that no attempt shall "be made for the future, toward terminating religious dif-"ferences, except by the gentle and pacific methods of per-"suasion and conference; that the supreme civil power in "every state may establish what form of doctrine and wor-"ship it shall deem proper, but shall permit those who re-"fuse to conform, to remove their effects; that such as "had seized the benefices or revenues of the church, previ-"ous to the treaty of Passau, shall retain possession of them, "and be subject to no prosecution in the imperial chamber "on that account; but if any prelate or ecclesiastic shall

9. Id. ibid.

"hereafter

"hereafter abandon the Romiſh religion, he ſhall inſtantly "relinquiſh his dioceſe or benefice, and that it ſhall be law- "ful for thoſe in whom the right of nomination is veſted, to "proceed immediately to an election, as if the office was "vacant by death or tranſlation [10]."

Theſe, my dear Philip, are the principal articles in the famous Receſs of Augſburgh, which is the baſis of religious peace in Germany. The followers of Luther were highly pleaſed with that ſecurity which it afforded them, and the Catholics ſeem to have had no leſs reaſon to be ſatisfied. That article which preſerved entire to the Romiſh church the benefices of ſuch eccleſiaſtics as ſhould hereafter renounce its doctrines, at once placed a hedge around its patrimony, and effectually guarded againſt the defection of its dignitaries. But cardinal Caraffa, who was now raiſed to the papal throne, under the name of Paul IV. full of high ideas of his apoſtolic juriſdiction, and animated with the fierceſt zeal againſt hereſy, regarded the indulgence given to the Proteſtants, by an aſſembly compoſed of laymen, as an impious act of that power which the diet had uſurped. He therefore threatened the emperor and the king of the Romans with the ſevereſt effects of his vengeance, if they did not immediately declare the Receſs of Augſburgh illegal and void; and as Charles ſhewed no diſpoſition to comply with this demand, the pope entered into an alliance with the French king, in order to ruin the imperial power in Italy.

During the negociation of that treaty, an event happened which aſtoniſhed all Europe, and confounded the reaſonings of the wiſeſt politicians. The emperor Charles V. though no more than fifty-ſix, an age when objects of ambition operate with full force on the mind, and are generally purſued with the greateſt ardour, had for ſome time formed the reſolution of reſigning his hereditary dominions to his ſon Philip. He now determined to put it in execution. Vari-

10. Father Paul, lib. v. Pallavicini, lib. xiii.

ous have been the opinions of hiſtorians concerning a reſolution ſo ſingular and unexpected; but the moſt probable ſeem to be, the diſappointments which Charles had met with in his ambitious hopes, and the daily decline of his health. He had early in life been attacked with the gout; and the fits were now become ſo frequent and ſevere, that not only the vigour of his conſtitution was broken, but the faculties of his mind were ſenſibly impaired. He therefore judged it more decent to conceal his infirmities in ſome ſolitude, than to expoſe them any longer to the public eye: and as he was unwilling to forfeit the fame, or loſe the acquiſitions of his better years, by attempting to guide the reins of government, when he was no longer able to hold them with ſteadineſs, he prudently determined to ſeek in the tranquillity of retirement, that happineſs which he had in vain purſued amid the tumults of war and the intrigues of ſtate.

In conſequence of this reſolution, Charles, who had already ceded to his ſon Philip the kingdom of Naples and the duchy of Milan, aſſembled the ſtates of the Low-Countries at Bruſſels; and ſeating himſelf, for the laſt time, in the chair of ſtate, he explained to his ſubjects the reaſons of his reſignation, and ſolemnly devolved his authority upon Philip. He recounted with dignity, but without oſtentation, all the great things which he had undertaken, and performed ſince the commencement of his adminiſtration: and that enumeration gives us the higheſt idea of his activity and induſtry. "I have dedicated," obſerved he, "from the ſeventeenth "year of my age, all my thoughts and attention to public "objects, reſerving no portion of my time for the indulgence "of eaſe, and very little for the enjoyment of private plea-"ſure. Either in a pacific or hoſtile manner, I have viſited "Germany nine times; Spain ſix times; France four times; "Italy ſeven times; the Low-Countries ten times; England "twice; Africa as often; and while my health permitted "me to diſcharge the duties of a ſovereign, and the vigour "of my conſtitution was equal in any degree to the ardu-

"ous

" ous office of governing ſuch extenſive dominions, I never
" ſhunned labour, nor repined under fatigue; but now
" when my health is broken, and my vigour exhauſted by
" the rage of an incurable deſtemper, my growing infirmi-
" ties admoniſh me to retire; nor am I ſo fond of reigning
" as to retain the ſceptre in an impotent hand, which is no
" longer able to protect my ſubjects.

" Inſtead of a ſovereign worn out with diſeaſes," continued he, " and ſcarce half alive, I give you one in the prime " of life, already accuſtomed to govern, and who adds to the " vigour of youth all the attention and ſagacity of maturer " years." Then turning towards Philip, who fell on his knees and kiſſed his father's hand, " It is in your power," ſaid Charles, " by a wiſe and virtuous adminiſtration, to juſ- " tify the extraordinary proof which I give this day of my " paternal affection, and to demonſtrate that you are worthy " of the confidence which I repoſe in you. Preſerve," added he, " an inviolable regard for religion; maintain the " Catholic faith in its purity; let the laws of your country " be ſacred in your eyes; encroach not on the rights of " your people; and if the time ſhould ever come, when you " ſhall wiſh to enjoy the tranquillity of private life, may you " have a ſon, to whom you can reſign your ſceptre with as " much ſatisfaction as I give mine to you." A few weeks after, the emperor alſo reſigned to Philip the Spaniſh crown, with all the dominions depending upon it, in the Old as well as in the New World; reſerving nothing to himſelf, out of all thoſe vaſt poſſeſſions, but an annual penſion of one hundred thouſand ducats [11].

Charles was now impatient to embark for Spain, where he had fixed on a place of retreat. But, by the advice of his phyſicians, he put off his voyage for ſome months, on account of the ſeverity of the ſeaſon: and, by yielding to their

11. Godlev. *Relat. Abdicat. Car. V.* Thuan. lib. xvi. Sandov. vol. ii. Robertſon, book ix.

judgment,

judgment, he had the satisfaction, before he left the Low-Countries, of taking a considerable step towards a peace with France. This he ardently longed for; not only on his son's account, whose administration he wished to commence in quietness, but that he might have the glory, when quitting the world, of restoring to Europe that tranquillity which his ambition had banished from it, almost since the day that he assumed the reins of government.

The great bar against such a pacification, on the part of France, was the treaty which Henry II. had concluded with the court of Rome; and the emperor's claims were too numerous to admit any hope of adjusting them suddenly. A truce of five years was therefore proposed by Charles, during which term, without discussing their respective pretensions, each should retain what was in his possession; and Henry, through the persuasion of the constable Montmorency, who represented the imprudence of sacrificing the true interests of his kingdom to the rash engagements he had come under with the pope, authorised his ambassadors to sign at Vaucelles a treaty, which would insure to him, for so considerable a period, the important conquests which he had made on the German frontier, together with the greater part of the duke of Savoy's dominions.

Paul IV. when informed of this transaction, was filled no less with terror and astonishment, than with rage and indignation. But he took equal care to conceal his fear and his anger. He affected to approve highly of the truce; and he offered his mediation, as the common father of Christendom, in order to bring about a permanent peace. Under this pretext, he dispatched cardinal Rebiba, as his nuncio, to the court of Brussels, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa, to that of Paris. The public instructions of both were the same; but Caraffa, besides these, received a private commission, to spare neither entreaties, promises, nor bribes, in order to induce the French monarch to renounce the truce, and renew his engagements with the court of Rome. He flattered

Henry with the conqueſt of Naples: he gained by his addreſs, the Guiſes, the queen, and even the famous Diana of Poictiers ducheſs of Valentinois, the king's miſtreſs: and they eaſily ſwayed the king himſelf, who already leaned to that ſide, towards which they wiſhed to incline him. All Montmorency's prudent remonſtrances were diſregarded. The nuncio, by powers from Rome, abſolved Henry from his oath of truce; and that raſh prince ſigned a new treaty with the pope, which rekindled with fresh violence the flames of war, both in Italy and the Low Countries. A. D. 1556.

No ſooner was Paul made acquainted with the ſucceſs of this negociation, than he proceeded to the moſt indecent extremities againſt Philip II. He ordered the Spaniſh ambaſſador to be impriſoned: he excommunicated the Colonnas, becauſe of their attachment to the imperial houſe; and he conſidered Philip as guilty of high treaſon, and to have forfeited his right to the kingdom of Naples, which he was ſuppoſed to hold of the Holy See, for afterward affording them a retreat in his dominions [12].

Alarmed at a quarrel with the pope, whom he had been taught to regard with the moſt ſuperſtitious veneration, as the vicegerent of Chriſt, and the common father of Chriſtendom, Philip tried every gentle method before he made uſe of force. He even conſulted ſome Spaniſh divines on the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt a perſon ſo ſacred. They decided in his favour: and Paul continuing inexorable, the duke of Alva, to whom the conduct of the negociation as well as of the war had been committed, entered the Eccleſiaſtical State at the head of ten thouſand veterans, and carried terror to the gates of Rome.

The haughty pontiff, though ſtill obſtinate and undaunted himſelf, was forced to give way to the fears of the cardinals, and a truce was concluded for forty days. Meantime the

12. Pallav. lib. xiii.

duke of Guife arriving with an army of twenty thoufand French troops, Paul became more arrogant than ever, and banifhed from his mind all thoughts but thofe of war and revenge.

A. D. 1557.

The duke of Guife, however, who is fuppofed to have given his voice for this war, chiefly from a defire of acquiring a field where he might difplay his military talents, was able to perform nothing in Italy worthy of his former fame. He was obliged to abandon the fiege of Civetella; he could not bring the duke of Alva to a general engagement; his army perifhed by difeafes, and the pope neglected to furnifh the neceffary reinforcements. He begged to be recalled: and France ftood in need of his abilities.

Philip II. though willing to have avoided a rupture, was no fooner informed that Henry had violated the truce of Vaucelles, than he determined to act with fuch vigour as fhould convince all Europe, that his father had not erred in refigning to him the reins of government. He immediately affembled in the Low Countries a body of fifty thoufand men: he obtained a fupply of ten thoufand from England, which he had engaged, as we have feen, in this quarrel; and not being ambitious of military fame, he gave the command of his army to Emanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, one of the greateft generals of that warlike age.

The duke of Savoy kept the enemy for a time in utter ignorance of his deftination. At length he feemed to threaten Champagne, toward which the French drew all their troops; a motion which he no fooner perceived than, turning fuddenly to the right, he advanced by rapid marches into Picardy, and laid fiege to St. Quintin. It was deemed in that age a place of confiderable ftrength, but the fortifications had been much neglected, and the garrifon did not amount to a fifth part of the number requifite for its defence: it muft therefore have furrendered in a few days, if the admiral de Coligny had not taken the gallant refolution of throwing himfelf into it with fuch a body of men as could

be

be ſuddenly collected for that purpoſe. He effected his deſign in ſpite of the enemy, breaking through their main body with ſeven hundred horſe, and two hundred foot. The town however was cloſely inveſted; and the conſtable Montmorency, anxious to extricate his nephew out of that perilous ſituation, in which his zeal for the public good had engaged him, as well as to ſave a place of great importance, raſhly advanced to its relief with forces one half inferior to thoſe of the enemy. His army was cut in pieces, and he himſelf made priſoner [13]. Aug. 10.

The cautious temper of Philip, on this occaſion, ſaved France from devaſtation, if not ruin. The duke of Savoy propoſed to overlook all inferior objects, and march directly to Paris; of which in its preſent conſternation, he could not have failed to make himſelf maſter. But the Spaniſh monarch, afraid of the conſequences of ſuch a bold enterprize, deſired him to continue the ſiege of St. Quintin, in order to ſecure a ſafe retreat, in caſe of any diſaſtrous event. The town, long and gallantly defended by Coligny, was at laſt taken by ſtorm; but not before France was in a ſtate of defence.

Philip was now ſenſible he had loſt an opportunity, that could never be recalled, of diſtreſſing his enemy, and contented himſelf with reducing Horn and Catelet: two pretty towns, which, together with St. Quintin, were the ſole fruits of one of the moſt deciſive victories gained in the ſixteenth century. The Catholic king, however, continued in high exultation, on account of his ſucceſs; and as all his paſſions were tinged with ſuperſtition, he vowed to build a church, a monaſtery, and a palace, in honour of St. Lawrence, on the day ſacred to whoſe memory the battle of St. Quintin had been fought. He accordingly laid the foundation of an edifice, in which all theſe buildings were included, and which he continued to forward at vaſt expence, for twenty-two

13. Thuan. lib. xix.

years. The ſame principle that dictated the vow, directed the conſtruction of the fabric. It was ſo formed as to reſemble a gridiron!—on which culinary inſtrument, according to the legendary tale, St. Lawrence had ſuffered martyrdom [14]. Such, my dear Philip, is the origin of the famous Eſcurial, near Madrid, the royal reſidence of the kings of Spain.

The earlieſt account of that fatal blow which France had received at St. Quintin, was carried to Rome by the courier whom Henry had ſent to recall the duke of Guiſe. Paul remonſtrated warmly againſt the departure of the French army; but Guiſe's orders were peremptory. The arrogant pontiff therefore found it neceſſary to accommodate his conduct to the exigency of his affairs, and to employ the mediation of the Venetians, and of Coſmo of Medicis, in order to obtain peace from Spain. The firſt overtures to this purpoſe were eaſily liſtened to by the Catholic king, who ſtill doubted the juſtice of his cauſe, and conſidered it as his greateſt misfortune to be obliged to contend with the pope. Paul agreed to renounce his league with France; and Philip ſtipulated on his part, that the duke of Alva ſhould repair in perſon to Rome, and after aſking pardon of the Holy Father in his own name, and in that of his maſter, for having invaded the patrimony of the church, ſhould receive abſolution from that crime!—Thus the pope, through the ſuperſtitious timidity of Philip, not only finiſhed an unpropitious war without any detriment to the apoſtolic ſee, but ſaw his conqueror humbled at his feet: and ſo exceſſive was the veneration of the Spaniards in that age for the papal character, that the duke of Alva, the proudeſt man perhaps of his time, and accuſtomed from his infancy to converſe with princes, acknowleged that when he approached Paul, he was ſo much overawed, that his voice failed, and his preſence of mind forſook him [15].

14. Colmenar. *Annal. d'Eſpagn.* tom. ii.

15. Pallav. lib. xiii.

But although this war, which at its commencement threatened mighty revolutions, was terminated without occasioning any alteration in those states which were its immediate object, it produced effects of considerable consequence in other parts of Italy. In order to detach Octavio Farnese, duke of Parma, from the French interest, Philip restored to him the city of Placentia and its territory, which had been seized, as we have seen, by Charles V. and he granted to Cosmo of Medicis the investiture of Siena, as an equivalent for the sums due to him [16]. By these treaties the balance of power among the Italian states was poised more equally, and rendered less variable than it had been since it received the first violent shock from the invasion of Charles VIII. and Italy henceforth ceased to be the theatre on which the sovereigns of Spain, France, and Germany, contended for fame and dominion. Their hostilities, excited by new objects, stained other regions of Europe with blood, and made other states feel, in their turn, the calamities of war.

The duke of Guise, who left Rome the same day that his adversary the duke of Alva made his humiliating submission to the pope, was received in France as the guardian angel of the kingdom. He was appointed commander in chief, with a jurisdiction almost unlimited; and, eager to justify the extraordinary confidence which the king had reposed in him, as well as to perform something suitable to the high expectations of his countrymen, he undertook the siege of Calais. The extraordinary success of that enterprize, and its different effects upon the English and French nations, we have already had occasion to observe. Guise next invested Thionville, in the duchy of Luxembourg, one of the strongest towns on the frontier of the Netherlands, and forced it to capitulate after a siege of three weeks. But the advantages in this quarter were more than balanced by an event which happened in another part of the

A. D. 1558.

16. Thuan. lib. xvlii.

Low Countries. The mareschal de Termes, governor of Calais, who had penetrated into Flanders, and taken Dunkirk, was totally routed near Gravelines, and taken prisoner by count Egmont[17]. This disaster obliged the duke of Guise to relinquish all his other schemes, and hasten to the frontiers of Picardy, that he might there oppose the progress of the enemy.

The eyes of France were now anxiously turned toward the operations of a general on whose arms victory had always attended, and in whose conduct, as well as good fortune, his countrymen could confide in every danger. Guise's strength was nearly equal to that of the duke of Savoy, each commanding about forty thousand men. They encamped at the distance of a few leagues from one another; and the French and Spanish monarchs having joined their respective armies, it was expected that, after the vicissitudes of war, a signal victory would at last determine which of the rivals should take the ascendant for the future in the affairs of Europe. But both monarchs, as if by agreement, stood on the defensive; neither of them discovering any inclination, though each had it in his power, to rest the decision of a point of such importance on the issue of a single battle.

During this state of inaction, peace began to be mentioned in each camp, and both Henry and Philip discovered an equal disposition to listen to any overture that tended to re-establish it. The private inclinations of both kings concurred with their political interests and the wishes of their people. Philip languished to return to Spain, the place of his nativity; and peace only could enable him, either with decency or safety, to quit the Low Countries. Henry was no less desirous of being freed from the avocations of war, that he might have leisure to turn the whole force of his government to the suppressing of the opinions of the reformers, which were spreading with such rapidity in Paris

17. Thuan. lib. xx.

and

and the other great towns, that the Proteſtants began to grow formidable to the eſtabliſhed church. Court intrigues conſpired with theſe public and avowed motives to haſten the negociation, and the abbey of Cercamp was fixed on as the place of congreſs [18].

While Philip and Henry were making theſe advances toward a treaty, which reſtored tranquillity to Europe, Charles V. whoſe ambition had ſo long diſturbed it, but who had been for ſome time dead to all ſuch purſuits, ended his days in the monaſtery of St. Juſtus, in Eſtramadura, which he had choſen as the place of his retreat. It was ſeated in a valley of no great extent, watered by a ſmall brook, and ſurrounded by riſing grounds, covered with lofty trees. In this ſolitude Charles lived on a plan that would have ſuited a private gentleman of moderate fortune. His table was plain, his domeſtics few, and his intercourſe with them familiar. Sometimes he cultivated the plants in his garden with his own hands, ſometimes rode out to the neighbouring wood on a little horſe, the only one which he kept, attended by a ſingle ſervant on foot: and when his infirmities deprived him of theſe more active recreations, he admitted a few gentlemen, who reſided near the monaſtery, to viſit him, and entertained them as equals; or he employed himſelf in ſtudying the principles, and in framing curious works of mechaniſm, of which he had always been remarkably fond, and to which his genius was peculiarly turned. But, however he was engaged, or whatever might be the ſtate of his health, he always ſet apart a conſiderable portion of his time for religious exerciſes, regularly attending divine ſervice in the chapel of the monaſtery, morning and evening.

In this manner, not unbecoming a man perfectly diſengaged from the affairs of the world, did Charles paſs his time in retirement. But ſome months before his death, the gout, after a longer intermiſſion than uſual, returned with a pro-

18. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Charles V.* book xii.

portional increaſe of violence, and enfeebled both his body and mind to ſuch a degree, as to leave no traces of that ſound and maſculine underſtanding which had diſtinguiſhed him among his cotemporaries. He ſunk into a deep melancholy. An illiberal and timid ſuperſtition depreſſed his ſpirit. He loſt all reliſh for amuſements of every kind, and deſired no other company but that of monks. With them he chanted the hymns in the Miſſal, and conformed to all the rigours of monaſtic life, tearing his body with a whip, as an expiation for his ſins!—Not ſatiſfied with theſe acts of mortification, and anxious to merit the favour of Heaven by ſome new and ſingular inſtance of piety, he reſolved to celebrate his own obſequies. His tomb was accordingly erected in the chapel of the monaſtery: his attendants walked thither in funeral proceſſion. Charles followed them in his ſhroud. He was laid in his coffin, and the ſervice of the dead was chanted over him; he himſelf joining in the prayers that were put up for the repoſe of his ſoul, and mingling his tears with thoſe which his attendants ſhed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral [19].

The fatiguing length of this ceremony, or the awful ſentiments which it inſpired, threw Charles into a fever, of which he died in the fifty-ninth year of his age. His enterprizes ſpeak his moſt eloquent panegyric, and his hiſtory forms his higheſt character. As no prince ever governed ſo extenſive an empire, including his American dominions, none ſeems ever to have been endowed with a ſuperior capacity for ſway. His abilities as a ſtateſman, and even as a general, were of the firſt claſs; and he poſſeſſed in the moſt eminent degree, along with indefatigable induſtry, the ſcience which is of the greateſt importance to a monarch, that of diſcerning the characters of men, and of adapting their talents to the various departments in which they are to be employed. But, unfortunately for the reputation of Charles,

19. Zunig. *Vit. de Carlos.* Robertſon, ubi ſup.

his

his insatiable ambition, which kept himself, his neighbours, and his subjects in perpetual inquietude, not only frustrated the chief end of government, the felicity of the nations committed to his care, but obliged him to have recourse to low artifices, unbecoming his exalted station, and led him into such deviations from integrity, as were unworthy of a great prince. This insidious policy, in itself sufficiently detestable, was rendered still more odious by a comparison with the open and undesigning character of Francis I. and served, by way of contrast, to turn on the French monarch a degree of admiration, to which neither his own talents nor his virtues as a sovereign seem to have entitled him.

Before Charles left the Low-Countries he made a second attempt to induce his brother Ferdinand to give up his title to the imperial throne to Philip II. and to accept the investiture of some provinces, either in Italy or the Netherlands, as an equivalent. But finding Ferdinand inflexible on that point, he desisted finally from his scheme, and resigned to him the government of the empire. The electors made no hesitation in recognizing the king of the Romans, whom they put in possession of all the ensigns of the imperial dignity, as soon as the deed of resignation was presented to them; but Paul IV. whose lofty ideas of the papal prerogative neither experience nor disappointments could moderate, refused to confirm the choice of the diet. He pretended that it belonged alone to the pope, from whom, as vicegerent of Christ, the imperial power was derived, to nominate a person to the vacant throne: and this arrogance and obstinacy he maintained during his whole pontificate. Ferdinand I. however, did not enjoy the less authority as emperor.

Soon after the death of Charles V. Mary of England ended her short and inglorious reign, and her sister Elizabeth, as we have already seen, succeeded to the throne, to the general joy of the nation, notwithstanding some supposed defects in her title. Henry and Philip beheld Elizabeth's elevation with equal solicitude; and equally sensible of the

importance of gaining her favour, both set themselves with emulation to court it. Henry endeavoured, by the warmest expressions of regard and friendship, to detach her from the Spanish alliance, and to engage her to consent to a separate peace with him; while Philip, unwilling to lose his connection with England, not only vied with Henry in declarations of esteem for Elizabeth, and in professions of his resolution to cultivate the strictest amity with her, but, in order to confirm and perpetuate their union, he offered himself to her in marriage, and undertook to procure a dispensation from the pope for that purpose.

Elizabeth weighed the proposals of the two monarchs with that provident discernment of her true interest which was conspicuous in all her deliberations; and although secretly determined to yield to the solicitations of neither, she continued for a time to amuse both. By this happy artifice, as well as by the prudence with which she at first concealed her intentions concerning religion, the young queen so far gained upon Philip, that he warmly espoused her interest in the conferences at Cercamp, and afterwards at Chateau Cambresis, whither they were removed. The earnestness, however, with which he seconded the arguments of the English plenipotentiaries, began to relax in proportion as his prospect of espousing the queen became more distant; and the vigorous measures that Elizabeth took, as soon as she found herself firmly seated on the throne, not only for overturning all that her sister had done in favour of popery, but for establishing the Protestant church on a sure foundation, convinced Philip, that his hopes of an union with her had been from the beginning vain, and were now desperate. Henceforth decorum alone made him preserve the appearance of interposing in her favour. Elizabeth, who expected such an alteration in his conduct, quickly perceived it. But, as peace was necessary to her, instead of resenting this coolness, she became more moderate in her demands, in order to preserve the feeble tie by which she was

A. D. 1559.

ſtill united to him; and Philip, that he might not ſeem to have abandoned the Engliſh queen, inſiſted, that the treaty of peace between Henry and Elizabeth ſhould be concluded in form, before that between France and Spain [20].

The treaty between Henry and Elizabeth contained no article of importance, except that which reſpected Calais, It was ſtipulated that the king of France ſhould retain poſſeſſion of that town, with all its dependencies, during eight years, at the expiration of which term he ſhould reſtore it to England. But as the force of this ſtipulation was made to depend on Elizabeth's preſerving inviolate, during the ſame number of years, the peace both with France and Scotland, all men of diſcernment ſaw, that it was but a decent pretext for abandoning Calais; and, inſtead of blaming her, they applauded her wiſdom, in palliating what ſhe could not prevent.

The expedient which Montmorency employed, in order to facilitate the concluſion of peace between France and Spain, was the negociating two treaties of marriage; one between Elizabeth, Henry's eldeſt daughter, and Philip II. the other between Margaret, Henry's only ſiſter, and the duke of Savoy. The principal articles of the treaty of peace were, That all conqueſts made by either party, on this ſide of the Alps, ſince the commencement of the war in 1551, ſhould be mutually reſtored; that the duchy of Savoy, the principality of Piedmont, the county of Breſſe, and all the other territories formerly ſubject to the dukes of Savoy, ſhould be reſtored to Emanuel Philibert, immediately after the celebration of his marriage with Margaret of France, (a few towns excepted, which Henry ſhould retain, till his claims on that prince were decided in a court of law); that the French king ſhould immediately evacuate all the places which he held in the duchy of Tuſcany and the territory of Siena, and renounce all future pretenſions to them; that he ſhould re-

20. Strype's *Annals*, vol. i. Forbes's *Full View*, vol. i.

ceive the Genoese into favour, and give up to them the towns which he had conquered in the island of Corsica. But he was allowed to keep possession of Metz, Toul, and Verdun, because Philip had little at heart the interests of his uncle Ferdinand. All past transactions, either of princes or subjects, it was agreed, should be buried in oblivion[21]. Thus the great causes of discord that had so long embroiled the powerful monarchs of France and Spain, seemed to be wholly removed, or finally annihilated, by this famous treaty, which re-established peace in Europe; almost every prince and state in Christendom being comprehended in the treaty of Chateau Cambresis, as allies either of Henry or of Philip.

Among these contracting powers were included the kings of Denmark, Sweden, and Poland. This circumstance naturally leads us to cast an eye on those countries, which we have not for some time had an opportunity of noticing, as they had no connexion with the general system of European affairs. Meantime I must observe, for the sake of perspicuity, that Henry II. being killed in a tournament, while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, his son Francis II. a weak prince, and under age, already married to the queen of Scots, succeeded to the crown of France. A few weeks after, Paul IV. ended his violent and imperious pontificate:—and thus, as a learned historian observes[22], all the personages who had long sustained the principal characters on the great theatre of Europe disappeared nearly at the same time.

At this æra, my dear Philip, a more known period of history opens. Other actors appeared on the stage, with different views and passions; new contests arose; and new schemes of ambition, as we shall have occasion to see, occupied and disquieted mankind.—But, before we enter on that period, we must take a view of the state of the North.

21. *Recueil des Traitez*, tom. ii. 22. Robertson, *Hist. Charles V.* book xii.

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LETTER LXIV.

SWEDEN, DENMARK, *and* NORWAY, *from the Union of these Kingdoms, under* MARGARET WALDEMAR, *surnamed the* SEMIRAMIS *of the* NORTH, *to the Death of* GUSTAVUS VASA; *together with an Account of the State of* RUSSIA, POLAND, *and* PRUSSIA, *in the Sixteenth Century.*

THE kingdoms of the north of Europe, that great storehouse of nations, I have hitherto chiefly considered as dependencies on the German empire, to which they long continued to pay some degree of homage. In what manner they were subjected to that homage, we have already had occasion to observe, and also to notice the union of Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, the ancient Scandinavia, under Margaret Waldemar, surnamed the Semiramis of the North.

A. D. 1388.

Margaret was daughter of Waldemar III. king of Denmark. She had been married to Hacquin, king of Norway, and son of Magnus III. king of Sweden. On the death of her son Olaus, the last male heir of the three northern crowns, (which were, however, more elective than hereditary) she succeeded, by the consent of the states, to the Danish throne. She was elected soon after queen of Norway, which she had governed as regent; and the Swedes been oppressed by Albert of Mecklenburg, whom they had chosen king, made Margaret a solemn tender of their crown. She marched to their assistance, expelled Albert, and assumed the reins of government [1].

A. D. 1399.

Margaret's ambition, however, was not yet satisfied. The three northern crowns were no sooner seated upon her head, than she laboured to render their union perpetual. For this purpose, after taking preparatory measures, she convoked the states of all the three kingdoms to meet at

1. Puffend. Fontan.

Calmar;

Calmar; where it was eſtabliſhed as a fundmental law of the whole, that Sweden, Denmark, and Norway, ſhould thenceforth have but one and the ſame ſovereign, who ſhould be choſen ſucceſſively by each of theſe kingdoms, and then approved by the other two; that each nation ſhould retain its own laws, cuſtoms, privileges, and dignities; and that the natives of one kingdom ſhould not be raiſed to poſts of honour or profit in another, but ſhould be reputed foreigners, except in their own country [2].

But this union, ſeemingly ſo well calculated for the tranquillity as well as ſecurity of the North, proved the ſource of much diſcontent, and of many barbarous wars. The national antipathy between the Swedes and Danes, now heightened by national jealouſy, was with difficulty reſtrained by the vigorous adminiſtration of Margaret, whoſe partiality to the natives of Denmark is ſaid to have been but too evident; and under her ſucceſſor Eric, ſtill more unjuſtly partial to the Danes, the Swedes openly revolted, chuſing their grand marſhal, Charles Canutſon, deſcended from the illuſtrious family of Bonde, which had formerly given kings to Sweden, firſt regent, and afterwards king. The Swedes, however, returned to their allegiance under Chriſtian I. of Denmark.

A. D. 1442. But they again revolted from the ſame prince; again renewed the union of Calmar, under John his ſucceſſor; revolted a third time; and were finally ſubdued by the arms of Chriſtian II. who reduced

A. D. 1448. them to the condition of a conquered people [3].

The circumſtances of this laſt revolution are ſufficiently ſingular to merit our attention; and the conſequences by which it was followed, render a recapitulation neceſſary.

The Swedes on revolting from Chriſtian I. had conferred the adminiſtration of the kingdom on Steen Sture, whoſe ſon, of the ſame name, ſucceeded him in the regency. The authority of young Sture was acknowledged by the body of

2. Meurſ. lib. v.

3. Vertot, *Revolut. Swed.*

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the nation, but disputed by Gustavus Trolle, archbishop of Upsal, and primate of Sweden, whose father had been a competitor for the administration, and whom Christian II. of Denmark had brought over to his interest. Besieged in his castle of Stecka, and obliged to surrender, notwithstanding the interposition of the Danish monarch, the archbishop was degraded by the diet, and deprived of all his benefices. In his distress he applied to Leo X. who excommunicated the regent and his adherents, committing the execution of the bull to the king of Denmark. Pursuant to this decree, the Nero of the North, as Christian II. is deservedly called, invaded Sweden with a powerful army; but being worsted in a great battle, he pretended to treat, and offered to go in person to Stockholm, in order to confer with the regent, provided six hostages were sent as a pledge of his safety. The proposal was accepted, and six of the first nobility (among whom was Gustavus Vasa, grand-nephew to king Canutson) were put on board the Danish fleet. These hostages Christian carried prisoners to Denmark. Next year, he returned with a more formidable armament, and invaded West Gothland; where Steen Sture advancing to give him battle, fell into an ambuscade, and received a wound, which proved mortal. The Swedish army, left without a head, first treated, and afterwards dispersed. The senate was divided about the choice of a new regent, and the conqueror allowed them no leisure to deliberate. He immediately marched toward the capital, wasting every thing before him with fire and sword. Stockholm surrendered; and Gustavus Trolle, resuming his archiepiscopal function, crowned Christian king of Sweden.

A. D. 1520.

This coronation was followed by one of the most tragical scenes in the history of the human race. Christian, affecting clemency, went to the cathedral, and swore that he would govern Sweden, not with the severe hand of a conqueror, but with the mild and beneficent disposition of a prince raised to the throne by the universal voice of the people; after which

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he invited the senators and grandees to a sumptuous entertainment, that lasted for three days. Meanwhile a plot was formed for extirpating the Swedish nobility. On the last day of the feast, in order to afford some pretext for the intended massacre, archbishop Trolle reminded the king, that though his majesty, by a general amnesty, had pardoned all past offences, no satisfaction had yet been given to the pope, and demanded justice in the name of his Holiness. The hall was immediately filled with armed men, who secured the guests: the primate proceeded against them as heretics; a scaffold was erected before the palace gate; and ninety-four persons of distinction, among whom was Eric Vasa, father of the celebrated Gustavus, were publicly executed for defending the liberties of their country. Other barbarities succeeded to these: the rage of the soldiery was let loose against the citizens, who were butchered without mercy; and the body of the late regent was dug from the grave, exposed on a gibbet, quartered, and nailed up in different parts of the kingdom [4].

But Sweden soon found a deliverer and an avenger. Gustavus Vasa had escaped from his prison in Denmark, and concealed himself, in the habit of a peasant, among the mountains of Dalecarlia. There, deserted by his sole companion and guide, who carried off his little treasure; bewildered, destitute of every necessary, and ready to perish of hunger, he entered himself among the miners, and worked under ground for bread, without relinquishing the hope of one day ascending the throne of Sweden. Again emerging to light, and distinguished among the Dalecarlians by his lofty mien, and by the strength and agility of his body, he had acquired a considerable degree of ascendency over them, before they were acquainted with his rank. He made himself known to them at their annual feast, and exhorted them to assist him in recovering the liberties of their country.

4 Id. ibid.

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They liſtened to him with admiration: they were all rage againſt their oppreſſors; but they did not reſolve to join him, till ſome of the old men among them obſerved (ſo inconſiderable often are the cauſes of the greateſt events!) that the wind had blown directly from the north, from the moment that Guſtavus began to ſpeak. This they conſidered as an infallible ſign of the approbation of Heaven, and an order to take up arms under the banners of the hero: they already ſaw the wreath of victory on his brow, and begged to be led againſt the enemy. Guſtavus did not ſuffer their ardour to cool. He immediately attacked the governor of the province in his caſtle, took it by aſſault, and ſacrificed the Daniſh garriſon to the juſt vengeance of the Dalecarlians. Like animals that have taſted the blood of their prey, they were now furious, and fit for any deſperate enterprize. Guſtavus every where ſaw himſelf victorious, and gained partizans in all corners of the kingdom. Every thing yielded to his valour and good fortune. His popularity daily increaſed. He was firſt choſen regent, and afterward king of Sweden [5].

A. D. 1521.

A. D. 1523.

Meanwhile Chriſtian II. become obnoxious by his tyrannies even to his Daniſh ſubjects, was degraded from the throne. The inhabitant of Jutland firſt renounced his authority. They deputed Munce, their chief juſtice, to ſignify to the tyrant the ſentence of depoſition. "My name," ſaid Munce, glorying in the dangerous commiſſion, "ought to "be written over the gates of all wicked princes!" and it ought certainly to be tranſmitted to poſterity, as a warning to both kings and inferior magiſtrates, of the danger of abuſing power. The whole kingdom of Denmark acquieſced in the decree; and Chriſtian, hated even by his own officers, and not daring to truſt any one, retired into the Low Countries, the hereditary dominions of his brother-in-law Charles V. whoſe aſſiſtance he had long implored in vain [6].

5. Loccen. Puffend. Vertot.

6. Ibid.

Frederick

Frederic duke of Holstein, Christian's uncle, was elected king of Denmark and Norway. He aspired also to the sovereignty of Sweden; but finding Gustavus firmly seated on the throne of that kingdom, he laid aside his claim. Frederic afterwards entered into an alliance with Gustavus and the Hanse-towns, against the deposed king, Christian II. who, after several unsuccessful attempts to recover his crown, died in prison: a fate too gentle for so barbarous a tyrant.

A. D. 1524.

Frederic was succeeded in the Danish throne by his son, Christian III. one of the most prudent and prosperous princes of his age. He established the Protestant religion at the same time in Denmark and Norway, in imitation of the example of Gustavus, who had already introduced it into Sweden. The doctrines of Luther had spread themselves over both kingdoms, and both princes saw the advantage of retrenching the exorbitant power of the clergy. Christian died in 1558, and Gustavus in 1560, leaving behind him the glorious character of a patriot king[7]. He rescued Sweden from the Danish yoke, by his valour; he made commerce and arts flourish, by his wise policy; and the liberality of his bold and independent spirit, by making him superior to vulgar prejudices, enabled him to break the fetters of priestly tyranny, and enfranchise the minds as well as the bodies of his countrymen.

A. D. 1533

A. D. 1537.

While Denmark and Sweden were thus rising to distinction, Russia remained buried in that barbarism and obscurity, from which it was called about the beginning of the present century, by the creative genius of Peter the Great, who made his country known and formidable to the rest of Europe. But the names of patriots and of heroes, however rude or enlightened, ought to be transmitted to posterity. John Basilowitz I. great-duke of Muscovy, threw off the yoke of the

7. Vertot.

Tartars,

Tartars, to whom Russia had been long tributary; expelled the Tartar officers from Moscow; invaded their territories; made himself master of Novogorod, and also of Cassan, where he was crowned with the diadem A. D. 1470. of that country; and assumed the title of czar, which in the Sclavonian language signifies king or emperor. To these acquisitions his grandson, John Basilowitz II. added Astracan, and also Siberia, hitherto as A. D. 1554. little known to the Russians as Mexico was to the Spaniards before the expedition of Cortez, and as easily conquered. This prince sent ambassadors to the court of England, and concluded a treaty of commerce with Elizabeth[8]; Richard Chancellor, an English navigator, having A. D. 1569. discovered some years before, by doubling the North Cape, the port of Archangel in the river Dwina.

Poland, still a scene of anarchy, began to be of some consideration in the North, after the race of the Jagellons came to the throne, and united Lithuania to that kingdom. Though the crown is elective, the succession continued uninterrupted in the same family for almost two hundred years, and Sigismund I. cotemporary with Charles V. was esteemed a great prince[9]. But while the most inconsiderate of the nobles, by the word *veto* can prevent the enacting of the most salutary law; and while the great body of the people remain in a state of slavery, Poland can never obtain any rank among civilized nations.—So true it is, my dear Philip, that the character of a people, their virtue, their genius, and their industry, depend chiefly on their civil and political institutions!

Prussia, which has lately made so great a figure in the affairs of Europe, was only erected into a kingdom in the year 1700. It was originally conquered from the Pagans of the North, by the knights of the Teutonic order, who held it upwards of three hundred years. At last Albert, margrave

8. Petreius. Camden. 9. Flor. Polon.

of Brandenburgh, grand maſter of the order, embracing the doctrines of Luther, and willing to aggrandiſe himſelf at the expence of the knights, agreed to ſhare Pruſſia with his uncle, Sigiſmund I. king of Poland, on condition of paying homage for the protection of that crown. The propoſal was accepted. Albert took the title of duke in his new territory; hence the preſent kingdom is called Ducal Pruſſia, and that part in the poſſeſſion of Poland, and on the weſtern ſide of the Viſtula, Regal Pruſſia[10].

A. D. 1582.

The future tranſactions of the kingdoms of Hungary and Bohemia, I ſhall have occaſion to relate, as formerly, in treating of the affairs of the empire and the houſe of Auſtria. More intereſting objects at preſent claim our attention.

10. *Mem. de Brandenburgh*, tom. i.

LETTER LXV.

ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, *and* FRANCE, *from the Peace of* CHATEAU-CAMBRESIS, *in* 1559, *to the Death of* FRANCIS II. *and the Return of* MARY *Queen of* SCOTS *to her native Kingdom.*

THE treaty of Chateau-Cambreſis, my dear Philip, though it re-eſtabliſhed peace, by ſettling the claims of the contending powers, by no means ſecured laſting tranquillity to Europe. The Proteſtant opinions had already made conſiderable progeſs both in France and the Low Countries, and Philip and Henry were equally reſolved to extirpate hereſy throughout their dominions. The horrors of the inquiſition, long familiar to Spain, were not only increaſed in that kingdom, but extended to Italy and the Netherlands; and although the premature death of Henry II. ſuſpended for a while the rage of perſecution in France, other cauſes

A. D. 1559.

causes of discontent arose, and religion was made use of by each party, to light the flames of civil war [1].

A new source of discord also arose between France and England. The princes of Lorrain, the ambitious family of Guise, whose credit had long been great at the French court, and who had negociated the marriage between the dauphin, now Francis II. and their niece the queen of Scots, extended still farther their ambitious views. No less able than aspiring, they had governed both the king and kingdom, since the accession of the young and feeble Francis. But they had many enemies. Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, a woman who scrupled at no violence or perfidy to accomplish her ends; the two princes of the blood, Anthony de Bourbon king of Navarre, and his brother Lewis prince of Condé, besides the constable Montmorency and his powerful family, were alike desirous of the administration, and envious of the power of the Guises [2].

In order to acquire this power, the duke of Guise and his five brothers, the cardinal of Lorrain, the duke of Aumale, the cardinal of Guise, the marquis of Elbeuf, and the Grand Prior, men no less ambitious than himself, had not only employed the greatest military and political talents, but to all the arts of insinuation and address had added those of intrigue and dissimulation. In negociating the marriage between their niece, Mary Stuart, and the dauphin, these artful princes, while they prevailed on the French court to grant the Scottish nation every security for the independency of that crown, engaged the young queen of Scots to subscribe privately three deeds, by which, failing the heirs of her own body, she conferred the kingdom of Scotland, with whatever inheritance or *succession* might accrue to it, in free gift upon the crown of France; declaring any deed which her subjects had, or might extort from her to the contrary, to be void, and of no obligation [3].

1. Thuanus. Cabrera. Davila. 2. Davila, lib. i. Mezeray, tom. v.
3. Du Mont, *Corps Diplomat.* tom. v. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* book ii.

By the succession mentioned in these deeds, the crown of England seems to have been meant; for no sooner were the Guises informed of the death of queen Mary, and the accession of her sister Elizabeth (whose birth, in the opinion of every good Catholic, excluded her from any legal right to the throne) than they formed a project worthy of their ambition. In order to exalt still higher their credit, and secure their power, they attempted to acquire also for France the southern British kingdom. For this purpose they solicited at Rome, and obtained a bull, declaring Elizabeth's birth illegitimate; and as the queen of Scots, then married to the dauphin, was the next heir by blood, they persuaded Henry II. to permit his son and daughter-in law to assume the title and arms of England [4].

Elizabeth complained of this insult, by her ambassador at the court of France, but could obtain only an evasive answer. No obvious measure however was taken, during the reign of Henry II. in support of the claim of the queen of Scots; but no sooner were the princes of Lorrain in full possession of the administration under his successor, Francis II. than more vigorous and less guarded counsels were adopted. Sensible that Scotland was the quarter whence they could attack England to most advantage, they gave, as a preparatory step, orders to their sister, the queen-regent, and encouraged her by promises of men and money, to take effectual measures for humbling the Scottish malcontents, and suppressing the Protestant opinions in that kingdom; hoping that the English Catholics, formidable at that time by their zeal and numbers, and exasperated against Elizabeth, on account of the change which she had made in the national religion, would rise in support of the succession of the queen of Scots, when animated by the prospect of protection, and throw themselves into the arms of France, as the only power that could secure to them their ancient worship, and the privileges of the Romish church [5].

4. Robertson, ubi sup. Anderson, *Diplom. Scot.* No. 68, and 164.
5. Forbes, vol. i. Thuan. lib. xxiv.

No ſtranger to theſe violent counſels, Elizabeth ſaw her danger, and determined to provide againſt it. Meanwhile the ſituation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity, both of revenging the inſult offered to her crown, and of defeating the ambitious views of France.

The reformation was faſt advancing in Scotland. All the low country was deeply tinctured with the Proteſtant opinions; and as the converts to the new religion had been guilty of no violation of public peace ſince the murder of cardinal Beaton, whoſe death was partly occaſioned by private revenge, the queen-regent, willing to ſecure their favour, in order to enable her to maintain that authority which ſhe had found ſo much difficulty to acquire, connived at the progreſs of doctrines, which ſhe wanted power utterly to ſuppreſs. Too cautious, however, to truſt to this precarious indulgence for the ſafety of their religious principles, the heads of the Proteſtant party in Scotland entered privately into a bond of aſſociation for their mutual protection and the propagation of their tenets, ſtyling themſelves the *Congregatian of the Lord*, in contradiſtinction to the eſtabliſhed church, which they denominated the *Congregation of Satan*[6].

Such aſſociations are generally the forerunners of rebellion; and it appears, that the heads of the Congregation in Scotland, carried their views farther than a mere toleration of the new doctrines. So far they were to blame, as enemies to civil authority, but the violent meaſures purſued againſt their ſect, before this league was known or avowed, ſufficiently juſtify the aſſociation itſelf, as the reſult of a prudent foreſight, and a neceſſary ſtep to ſecure the free exerciſe of their religion. Alarmed at the progreſs of the Reformation, the popiſh clergy had attempted to recover their ſinking authority by enforcing the tyrannical laws againſt hereſy; and Hamilton, the primate, formerly diſtinguiſhed by his

6. Keith. Knox.

moderation, had ſentenced to the flames an aged prieſt, convicted of embracing the Proteſtant opinions [7].

This was the laſt barbarity of the kind that the Catholics had the power to exerciſe in Scotland. The ſeverity of the archbiſhop rather rouſed than intimidated the reformers. The Congregation now openly ſolicited ſubſcriptions to their league; and not ſatisfied with new and more ſolemn promiſes of the regent's protection, they preſented a petition to her, craving a reformation of the church, and of the wicked, ſcandalous, and deteſtable lives of the clergy. They alſo framed a petition, which they intended to preſent to parliament, ſoliciting ſome legal protection againſt the exorbitant and oppreſſive juriſdiction of the eccleſiaſtical courts. They even petitioned the convocation; and inſiſted that prayers ſhould be ſaid in the vulgar tongue, that biſhops ſhould be choſen by the gentry of the dioceſe, and prieſts with the conſent of the pariſhioners.

Inſtead of ſoothing the Proteſtants, by any prudent conceſſions, the convocation rejected their demands with diſdain; and the queen-regent, who had hitherto wiſely temporiſed between the parties, and whoſe humanity and ſagacity taught her moderation, having received during the ſitting of the aſſembly the violent commands of her brother, prepared to carry their deſpotic plan into execution, contrary to her own judgment and experience. She publicly expreſſed her approbation of the decrees, by which the priciples of the reformers were condemned in the convocation, and cited the moſt eminent Proteſtant teachers to appear before the council at Stirling [8].

The members of the Congregation, alarmed but not overawed by this danger, aſſembled in great numbers, agreeable to the cuſtom of Scotland at that time, in order to attend their

7. Ibid.

8. Melvil. Jebb. Caſtelneau.

pastors

paſtors to the place of trial [9]; to protect and to countenance them: and the queen-regent, dreading the approach of ſo formidable a body, impowered Erſkine of Dun, a perſon of high authority with the reformers, to aſſure them that ſhe would put a ſtop to the intended proceedings, provided they advanced no farther. They liſtened with pleaſure, and perhaps with too much credulity, to ſo pacific a propoſition; for men whoſe grievances obliged them to fly in the face of the civil power, under whatever plauſible pretext their purpoſe may be concealed, ſhould truſt to nothing leſs than the ſolemnity of a contract. The regent broke her promiſe, conformable to her maxim, that "the promiſes of princes "ought not to be too carefully remembered, nor the per-"formance of the exacted, unleſs it ſuits their own conve-"niency." She proceeded to call to trial the perſons formerly ſummoned, and on their not appearing, though purpoſely prevented, they were pronounced outlaws [10].

By this ignoble artifice, the queen-regent forfeited the eſteem and confidence of the whole nation. The Proteſtants boldly prepared for their own defence; and Erſkine, enraged at being made the inſtrument of deceiving his party, inſtantly repaired to Perth, whither the leaders of the Congregation had retired, and inflamed the zeal of his aſſociates, by his repreſentations of the regent's inflexible reſolution to ſuppreſs their religion. His ardour was powerfully ſeconded by the rhetoric of John Knox, a preacher, poſſeſſed of a bold and popular eloquence. Having been carried priſoner into France, together with other perſons taken in the caſtle of St. Andrews, ſoon after the murder of cardinal Beaton, Knox made his eſcape out of that kingdom; and, after reſiding ſometimes in England, ſometimes in Scotland, had found it

9. In conſequence of this cuſtom, originally introduced by vaſſalage and clanſhip, and afterwards tolerated through the feebleneſs of government, any perſon of eminence accuſed of a crime, was accompanied to the place of trial by a body of his friends and adherents. Robertſon, *Hiſt. Scot.* book ii.

10. Knox, p. 127. Robertſon, book ii.

neceſſary, in order to avoid the vengeance of the popiſh clergy, to retire to Geneva. There he imbibed all the enthuſiaſm, and heightened the natural ferocity of his own character by the ſevere doctrines of Calvin, who had ſucceeded Zuinglius in the apoſtleſhip of that republic, and completed its eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment.

Invited home by the heads of the Proteſtant party in Scotland, Knox had arrived in his native country a few days before the trial appointed at Stirling, and immediately joined his brethren, that he might ſhare with them in the common danger, as well as in the glory of promoting the common cauſe. In the preſent ferment of men's minds, occaſioned by the regent's deceitful conduct, and the ſenſe of their own danger, he mounted the pulpit, and declaimed with ſuch vehemence againſt the idolatry, and other abuſes of the church of Rome, that his audience were ſtrongly incited to attempt its utter ſubverſion. During thoſe movements of holy indignation, the indiſcreet bigotry of a prieſt, who immediately after that violent invective, was preparing to celebrate maſs, and had opened all his repoſitory of images and reliques, hurried the enthuſiaſtic populace into immediate action. They fell with fury upon the devout catholic, broke the images, tore the pictures, overthrew the altars, and ſcattered about the ſacred vaſes. They next proceeded to the monaſteries, againſt which their zeal more particularly pointed its thunder. Not content with expelling the monks, and defacing every implement of idolatrous worſhip, as they termed it, they vented their rage upon the buildings which had been the receptacles of ſuch abomination; and, in a few hours, thoſe ſuperb edifices were level with the ground[11].

Provoked at theſe violences, and others of a like kind, the queen-regent aſſembled an army, compoſed chiefly of French troops; and being aſſiſted by ſuch of the nobility as ſtill ad-

11. Spotſwood, p. 121. Knox, p. 127, 128. Robertſon, book ii. Hume, chap. xxxviii.

hered to her cause, she determined to inflict the severest vengeance on the whole Protestant party. Intelligence of her preparations, as well as of the spirit by which she was actuated, soon reached Perth; and the heads of the Congregation, who had given no countenance to the late insurrection in that city, would gladly have soothed her by the most dutiful and submissive addresses, but finding her inexorable, they prepared for resistance, and their adherents flocked to them in such numbers that, within a few days they were in a condition not only to defend the town, but to take the field with superior forces. Neither party, however, discovered much inclination to hazard a battle, both being afraid of the dangerous consequences of such a trial of strength; and through the mediation of the earl of Argyle, and of James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, the young queen's natural brother, who, although closely connected with the Reformers, had not yet openly deserted the regent, a treaty was concluded with the Congregation.

In this treaty it was stipulated, among other provisions, That indemnity should be granted to all persons concerned in the late insurrection, and that the parliament should immediately be assembled, in order to compose religious differences. Both these stipulations the queen-regent broke—by neglecting to call the parliament, by fining some of the inhabitants of Perth, banishing others, turning the magistrates out of office, and leaving a garrison in the town, with orders to allow the exercise of no other religion but the Roman Catholic [12]. The Protestants renewed the league, and had again recourse to arms; despoiling, wherever they turned their route, the churches of their sacred furniture, and laying the monasteries in ruins. New treaties were concluded, and again broken, and new ravages were committed on the monuments of ecclesiastical pride and luxury.

12. Buchanan, lib. xvi. Robertson, book ii.

Mean-

Meanwhile the Congregation had been joined not only by the earl of Argyle and the prior of St. Andrews, but alſo by the duke of Chatelrault and his ſon the earl of Arran, the preſumptive heirs of the crown, and had poſſeſſed themſelves of the capital. They now aimed at the redreſs of civil as well as religious grievances; requiring, as a preliminary toward ſettling the kingdom, and ſecuring its liberties, the immediate expulſion of the French forces out of Scotland. The queen-regent, ſenſible of the neceſſity of giving way to a torrent which ſhe could not reſiſt, amuſed them for a time with fair promiſes and pretended negociations; but being reinforced with a thouſand foreign troops, and encouraged by the court of France to expect ſoon the arrival of an army ſo powerful, as the zeal of her adverſaries however deſperate, would not dare to encounter, ſhe liſtened to the raſh counſels of her brothers, and at laſt gave the Congregation a poſitive denial. She was not anſwerable to the confederate lords, ſhe ſaid, for any part of her conduct; nor ſhould ſhe, upon any repreſentation from them, abandon meaſures which ſhe deemed neceſſary, or diſmiſs forces that ſhe found uſeful; ordering them at the ſame time, on pain of her diſpleaſure, and as they valued their allegiance, to diſband the troops which they had aſſembled.

This haughty reply to their earneſt and continued ſolicitations, determined the leaders of the Congregation to take a ſtep worthy of a brave and free people. Oct. 21. They aſſembled the whole body of peers, barons, and repreſentatives of boroughs, that adhered to their party; and the members of this bold convention (which equalled in number, and exceeded in dignity, the uſual meetings of parliament), after examining the moſt delicate and important queſtion that can poſſibly fall under the conſideration of ſubjects, "the obedience due to an unjuſt and oppreſſive admi-" niſtration," gave their ſuffrage, without one diſſenting voice, for depriving Mary of Guiſe of the office of regent,

which ſhe had exerciſed ſo much to the detriment of the kingdom[13].

The queen-dowager had already retired into Leith, the ſea-port of Edinburgh, which ſhe had fortified and garriſoned with French troops, and where ſhe daily expected new reinforcements. Leith was immediately inveſted by the forces of the Congregation; but the confederate lords ſoon found, that their zeal had engaged them in an undertaking which exceeded their ability to accompliſh. The French garriſon, deſpiſing the tumultuous efforts of raw and undiſciplined troops, refuſed to ſurrender the town; and the Proteſtant leaders were neither ſufficiently ſkilful in the art of war, nor poſſeſſed of the artillery or magazines neceſſary for the purpoſe of a ſiege. Nor was this their only misfortune: their followers, accuſtomed to decide every quarrel by immediate action, were ſtrangers to the fatigues of a long campaign, and ſoon became impatient of the ſevere and conſtant duty which a ſiege requires. They firſt murmured, then mutinied; the garriſon took advantage of their diſcontents; and making a bold ſally, cut many of them in pieces, and obliged the reſt to abandon the enterprize.

Soon after this victory, the queen-dowager received from France a new reinforcement of a thouſand veteran foot, and ſome troops of horſe. Theſe, together with a detachment from the garriſon of Leith, were ſent out to ſcour the country, and to pillage and lay waſte the houſes and lands of the Proteſtants. Already broken and diſpirited, and hearing that the marquis of Elbeuf, the queen-dowager's brother, was ſuddenly expected with a great army, the leaders of the Congregation began to conſider their cauſe as deſperate, unleſs the Lord, whoſe holy name they had aſſumed, ſhould miraculouſly interpoſe in their behalf. But whatever confidence they might place in divine aid, they did not neglect human means.

13. Id. Ibid. Knox, p. 184.

The

The Scottish Protestants, in this pressing extremity, thought themselves excusable in craving foreign help. They turned their eyes toward England, which had already supplied them with money, and resolved to implore the assistance of Elizabeth to enable them to finish an undertaking, in which they had so fatally experienced their own weakness; and as the sympathy of religion, as well as regard to civil liberty, had now counterbalanced the ancient animosity against that sister-kingdom, this measure was the result of inclination no less than of interest or necessity. Maitland of Lethington, formerly the regent's principal secretary, and Robert Melvil, already acquainted with the intrigues of courts, were therefore secretly dispatched, as the most able negociators of the party, to solicit succours from the queen of England.

The wise counsellors of Elizabeth did not long hesitate in agreeing to a request, which corresponded so perfectly with the views and interests of their mistress. Secretary Cecil, in particular, represented to the English queen the necessity, as well as equity, of interposing in the affairs of Scotland, and of preventing the conquest of that kingdom, at which France openly aimed. Every society, he observed, has a right to defend itself, not only from present dangers, but from such as may probably ensue; that the invasion of England would immediately follow the reduction of the Scottish malcontents, by the abandoning of whom to the mercy of France, Elizabeth would open a way for her enemies into the heart of her own kingdom, and expose it to all the calamities of war, and the danger of conquest. Nothing therefore remained, he added, but to meet the enemy while yet at a distance, and, by supporting the leaders of the Congregation with an English army, to render Scotland the scene of hostilities; to crush the designs of the princes of Lorrain in their infancy; and by such an early and unexpected effort, finally

finally to expel the French out of Britain, before their power had time to grow up to any formidable height [14].

Elizabeth, throughout her whole reign, was cautious but decisive; and by her promptitude in executing her resolutions, joined to the deliberation with which she formed them, her administration became as remarkable for its vigour as for its wisdom. No sooner did she determine to afford assistance to the leaders of the Congregation, a measure to which the reasoning of Cecil effectually swayed her, than they experienced the activity as well as extent of her power. The season of the year would not permit her troops to take the field; but, lest the French army should, in the mean time, receive an accession of strength, she instantly ordered a squadron to cruise in the Frith of Forth, and early in the spring an English army, consisting of six thousand foot and two thousand horse, entered Scotland, under command of lord Grey of Wilton. A. D. 1560.

The leaders of the Congregation assembled from all parts of the kingdom to meet their new allies; and having joined them with vast numbers of their followers, the combined army advanced toward Leith. The French, little able to keep the field against so superior a force, confined themselves within the walls of the fortification. The place was immediately invested; and although the fleet that carried the reinforcement under the marquis of Elbeuf had been scattered by a violent storm, and was either wrecked on the coast of France, or with difficulty recovered the ports of that kingdom, the garrison, by an obstinate defence, protracted the siege to a great length [15].

Meantime the queen-dowager died; and many of the Catholic nobles, jealous of the French power, and more zealous for the liberty and independency of their country than for their religion, subscribed the alliance with England. Nothing

14. Keith, Append. No. XVII. Forbes, vol. i. Jebb, vol. i.
15. *Mem. de Castelneau.*

thing therefore could now ſave the garriſon of Leith, but the immediate concluſion of a treaty, or the arrival of a powerful army from France; and the ſituation of that kingdom conſtrained the princes of Lorrain to turn their thoughts, though with reluctance, toward pacific meaſures.

The Proteſtants in France were become formidable by their numbers, and ſtill more by the valour and enterpriſing genius of their leaders. Among theſe, the moſt eminent were the prince of Condé, the king of Navarre (no leſs diſtinguiſhed by his abilities than his rank), the admiral de Coligny, and his brother Andelot, who no longer ſcrupled to make open profeſſion of the reformed opinions, and whoſe high reputation both for valour and conduct gave great credit to the cauſe. Animated with zeal, and inflamed with reſentment againſt the Guiſes, who had perſuaded Francis II. to imitate the rigour of his father, by reviving the penal ſtatutes againſt hereſy, the Proteſtants or Hugonots, as they were ſtyled by way of reproach, not only prepared for their own defence, but reſolved, by ſome bold action, to anticipate the execution of thoſe ſchemes which threatened the extirpation of their religion, and the ruin of thoſe who profeſſed it. Hence the famous conſpiracy of Amboiſe, where they intended to ſeize the perſon of the king, and wreſt the government out of the hands of the Guiſes, if not to diſpatch them; and although the vigilance and good fortune of the princes of Lorrain diſcovered and diſappointed that de-
March 15.
ſign, the ſpirit of the Proteſtant party was rather rouſed than broken by the tortures inflicted on the conſpirators [16]. The admiral de Coligny had even the boldneſs to preſent to the king, in a grand council at Fontainbleau, a petition from the Hugonots, demanding the public exerciſe of their religion, unleſs they were allowed to aſſemble privately with impunity. He was treated as an incendiary by the cardinal of Lorrain; but his requeſt was warmly ſe-

16. Davila, lib. i. ii. Mezeray, tom. v.

conded

conded by Monluc biſhop of Valence, and by Marillac archbiſhop of Vienne, who both ſpoke with force againſt the abuſes which had occaſioned ſo many troubles and diſorders, as well as againſt the ignorance and vices of the French clergy. An aſſembly of the ſtates was convoked, in order to appeaſe the public diſcontents; the edicts againſt heretics were, in the meantime, ſuſpended, and an appearance of toleration ſucceeded to the rage of perſecution; but the ſentiments of the court were well known, and it was eaſy to obſerve new ſtorms gathering in every province of the kingdom, and ready to break forth with all the violence of civil war[17].

This diſtracted ſtate of affairs, called off the ambition of the princes of Lorrain from the view of foreign conqueſts, in order to defend the honour and dignity of the French crown, and made it neceſſary to withdraw the few veteran troops already employed in Scotland, inſtead of ſending new reinforcements into that kingdom. Plenipotentiaries were therefore ſent to Edinburgh, where a treaty was ſigned with the ambaſſadors of Elizabeth. In this treaty, it was ſtipulated, that the French forces ſhould inſtantly evacuate Scotland, and that Francis and Mary ſhould thenceforth abſtain from aſſuming the title of king and queen of England, or bearing the arms of that kingdom. Nor were the conceſſions granted to the Congregation leſs important; namely, that an amneſty ſhould be publiſhed for all paſt offences; that none but natives ſhould be put into any office in Scotland; that no foreign troops ſhould hereafter be introduced into the kingdom without the conſent of parliament; that the parliament ſhould name twenty-four perſons, out of whom the queen ſhould chuſe ſeven, and the parliament five, and in the hands of theſe twelve, ſo elected, ſhould the whole adminiſtration be veſted during Mary's abſence; that ſhe ſhould neither make peace nor war without the

July 6.

17. Davila, lib. ii. Mezeray, ubi ſup.

consent

consent of parliament; and that the parliament, at its first meeting, which was fixed to a certain day, should take into consideration the religious differences, and represent its sense of them to the king and queen [18].

A few days after the conclusion of this treaty, both the French and English armies quitted Scotland; and the leaders of the Congregation being now absolute masters of the kingdom, made no farther scruple or ceremony in completing the work of reformation. The parliament, which was properly an assembly of the nobles, or great barons, and dignified clergy, met on the day named; and on this occasion the burgesses and lesser barons, who had also a right to be present in that assembly, but who seldom exercised it, stood forth to vindicate their civil and religious liberties, eager to aid with their voice in the senate, that cause which they had defended with their sword in the field. The Protestant members, who greatly out-numbered their adversaries, after ratifying the principal articles of the late treaty, and giving their sanction to a Confession of Faith, presented to them by their teachers, prohibited the exercise of religious worship according to the rites of the Romish church, under the penalty of forfeiture of goods, as the punishment of the first act of disobedience; banishment, as the punishment of the second; and death as the reward of the third [19]. With such indecent haste did the very persons who had just escaped the rigour of ecclesiastical tyranny, proceed to imitate those examples of severity, of which they had so justly complained! A law was also passed for abolishing the papal jurisdiction in Scotland; and the Presbyterian form of worship was established, nearly as now constituted in that kingdom.

Francis and Mary refused to ratify these proceedings; which, by the treaty of Edinburgh ought to have been presented for approbation, in the form of deliberations, not of acts. But the Scottish Protestants gave themselves little

18. Keith. Spotswood. Knox.

19. Ibid.

trouble

trouble about their ſovereign's refuſal. They immediately put the ſtatutes in execution: they aboliſhed the maſs: they ſettled their miniſters; and they committed furious devaſtations on the ſacred buildings, which they conſidered as dangerous reliques of idolatry, laying waſte every thing venerable and magnificent, that had eſcaped the ſtorm of popular inſurrection. Abbeys, cathedrals, churches, libraries, records, and even the ſepulchres of the dead, periſhed in one common ruin [20].

United by the conſciouſneſs of ſuch unpardonable ſtretches of authority, and well acquainted with the imperious character of the princes of Lorrain, the Proteſtant part of the Scottiſh Parliament, ſeeing no ſafety for themſelves but in the protection of England, diſpatched ambaſſadors to Elizabeth, to expreſs their ſincere gratitude for her paſt favours, and repreſent to her the neceſſity of continuing them. Elizabeth, on her part, had equal reaſon to deſire an union with theſe northern reformers. Though the diſorders in France had obliged the princes of Lorrain to remit their efforts in Scotland, and had been one chief-cauſe of the ſucceſs of the Engliſh arms, they were determined not to relinquiſh their authority, or yield to the violence of their enemies. Nor had they yet laid aſide their deſign of ſubverting Elizabeth's throne. Francis and Mary, whoſe councils were ſtill wholly directed by them, obſtinately refuſed to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh, and perſiſted in aſſuming the title and arms of England. Aware of the danger attending ſuch pretenſions, Elizabeth not only promiſed ſupport to the Proteſtant party in Scotland, but ſecretly encouraged the French malcontents [21]: and it was with pleaſure that ſhe heard of the violent factions which prevailed in the court of France, and of the formidable oppoſition againſt the meaſures of the duke of Guiſe.

But that oppoſition muſt ſoon have been cruſhed by the

20. Robertſon, book iii. Hume, chap. xxxviii. 21 Id. ibid.

vigorous and decisive administration of the princes of Lorrain, if an unexpected event had not set bounds to their power. They had already found an opportunity of seizing the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; they had thrown the former into prison; they had obtained a sentence of death against the latter; and they were proceeding to put it in execution, when the sudden death of Francis II. arrested the uplifted blow, and brought down the duke of Guise to the level of a subject. Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother, was appointed guardian to her son Charles IX. only ten years of age at his accession, and invested with the administration of the realm, though not with the title of regent. In consequence of her maxim, "divide and govern!" the king of Navarre was named lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the sentence against Condé was annulled; the constable Montmorency was recalled to court; and the princes of Lorrain, though they still enjoyed high offices and great power, found a counterpoise to the weight of their influence [22].

Dec. 4.

A. D. 1561.

The death of Francis II. without issue by the queen of Scots, and the change which it produced in the French councils, at once freed the queen of England from the perils attending an union of Scotland with France, and the Scottish Protestants from the terror of the French power. The joy of the Congregation was extreme. They ascribed those events to the immediate interposition of Providence, in favour of his chosen people; and Elizabeth, without looking so high for their causes, determined to take advantage of their effects, in order more firmly to establish her throne. She still regarded the queen of Scots as a dangerous rival, on account of the number of English Catholics, who were generally prejudiced in favour of Mary's title, and would now adhere to her with more zealous attachment, when they saw that her succession no longer endangered the liberties of the king-

22. *Mem. de Castelnau.* Davila, lib. ii.

dom.

dom. She therefore gave orders to her ambaſſador at the court of France to renew his applications to the queen of Scots, and to require her immediate ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh [23].

Mary, ſlighted by the queen-mother, who imputed to that princeſs all the mortifications ſhe had met with during the life of Francis; forſaken by the ſwarm of courtiers, who appear only in the ſunſhine of proſperity, and overwhelmed with all the ſorrow which ſo ſad a reverſe of fortune could occaſion, had retired to Rheims; and there, in ſolitude, indulged her grief, or hid her indignation. But notwithſtanding her diſconſolate condition, and though ſhe had deſiſted after her huſband's death from bearing the arms, or aſſuming the title of England, ſhe ſtill eluded ratifying the treaty of Edinburgh, and refuſed to make any ſolemn renunciation of her pretenſions to the Engliſh crown [24].

Meanwhile James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, arrived at Rheims, in deputation from the ſtates of Scotland, inviting the queen to return into her native kingdom, and aſſume the reins of government. But Mary, hough ſeverely ſenſible ſhe was no longer queen of France, was in no haſte to leave a country, where ſhe had been educated from her earlieſt infancy, and where ſo many attentions had been paid to her perſon as well as to her rank. Accuſtomed to the elegance, gallantry, and gaiety of a ſplendid court, and to the converſation of a poliſhed people, by whom the had been loved and admired, ſhe ſtill fondly lingered in the ſcene of all theſe enjoyments, and contemplated with horror the barbariſm of her own country, and the turbulence of her native ſubjects, who had ſo violently ſpurned all civil and religious authority. By the advice of her uncles, however, ſhe determined at laſt to ſet out for Scotland; and as the courſe, in ſailing from France to that kingdom, lies along the Engliſh coaſt, ſhe demanded of Eli-

23. Keith. Caſtelnau. 24. Ibid.

zabeth, by the French ambaſſador, D'Oiſel, a ſafe-conduct during her voyage. That requeſt, which decency alone obliged one ſovereign to grant to another, Elizabeth rejected in ſuch a manner as gave riſe to no ſlight ſuſpicion of a deſign either to obſtruct the paſſage or intercept the perſon of the queen of Scots [25].

This ungenerous behaviour of Elizabeth filled Mary with indignation, but did not retard her departure from France. Having cleared the room of her attendants, ſhe ſaid to Throgmorton, the Engliſh ambaſſador, "How weak I may "prove, or how far a woman's frailty may tranſport me, I "I cannot tell; however, I am reſolved not to have ſo many "witneſſes of my infirmity as your miſtreſs had at her "audience of my ambaſſador D'Oiſel. There is nothing "diſturbs me ſo much, as having aſked with ſo much im-"portunity a favour, which it was of no conſequence for "me to obtain. I can, with God's leave, return to my own "country, without her leave, as I came to France in ſpite "of all the oppoſition of her brother, king Edward: neither "do I want friends both able and willing to conduct me "home, as they have brought me hither; though I was de-"ſirous rather to make an experiment of your miſtreſs's "friendſhip, than of the aſſiſtance of any other perſon [26]." She embarked on board a galley at Calais; and paſſing the Engliſh fleet, under cover of a thick fog, arrived ſafely at Leith, attended by the duke of Aumale, the Grand Prior, and the marquis of Elbeuf, three of her uncles of the houſe of Lorrain, together with the marquis of Damville, and other French courtiers [27].

Aug. 19.

The circumſtances of Mary's departure from France are truly affecting. The exceſs of her grief ſeems to have proceeded from a fatal preſage of that ſcene of misfortune on which ſhe was about to enter. Not ſatisfied with mingling

25. Keith. Camden. Robertſon, Append. No. VI. 26. Cabala, p. 374. Spotſwood, p. 177. 27. Robertſon, book iii.

tears with her mournful attendants, and bidding them adieu with a ſorrowful heart, ſhe kept her eyes fixed upon the French coaſt, after ſhe was at ſea, and never turned them from that darling object, till darkneſs fell, and intercepted it from her view. Even then, ſhe would neither retire to the cabin, nor taſte food, but commanding a couch to be placed on the deck, ſhe there waited, with fond impatience, the return of day. Fortune ſoothed her on this occaſion. The weather proving calm, the galley made but little way during the night, ſo that Mary, at morning, had once more an opportunity of ſeeing the French coaſt. She ſat up on her couch, and ſtill anxiouſly looking toward the land, often repeated with a ſigh, "Farewel, France! farewel, beloved "country, which I ſhall never more behold [28]!"

The reception of the queen of Scots in her native kingdom, the civil wars of France, and the ſhare which Elizabeth took in the affairs of both kingdoms, muſt furniſh the ſubject of another letter.

28. Brantome.—He himſelf was in the ſame galley with the queen.

LETTER LXVI.

FRANCE, ENGLAND, *and* SCOTLAND, *from the Return of* MARY STUART *to her native Kingdom, in* 1561, *till her Impriſonment, and the Proclamation of her Son* JAMES VI. *together with a retroſpective View of the Affairs of* SPAIN.

THE firſt appearance of affairs in Scotland was more favourable than Mary had reaſon to expect. She was received by her ſubjects with the loudeſt acclamations of joy, and every demonſtration of welcome and regard. Being now in her nineteenth year, the bloom of youth, and the beauty and gracefulneſs of her perſon, drew univerſal admi-

ration, while her elegant manners and enlightened understanding commanded general respect. To the accomplishments of her own sex, she added many of the acquisitions of our's. She was skilled in most languages, ancient as well as modern. The progress she had made in poetry, music, rhetoric, and all the arts and sciences then esteemed useful or ornamental, was far beyond what is commonly attained by the sons or daughters of royalty, who are born and educated as the immediate heirs of a crown; and a courteous affability, which, without lessening the dignity of a sovereign, steals on the hearts of subjects with a bewitching insinuation, rendered all her other qualities more engaging[1].

The first measures of Mary's administration confirmed the prepossessions entertained in her favour. According to the advice of D'Oisel and her uncles, she bestowed her confidence entirely on the leaders of the Protestant party[2], who were alone able, she found, to support her government. The prior of St. Andrews, her natural brother, whom she soon after created earl of Murray, obtained the chief authority; and under him, Maitland of Lethington, a man of great sagacity, had a principal share in her confidence. Her choice could not have fallen upon persons more agreeable to her people.

But there was one circumstance which blasted all these promising appearances, and deprived Mary of that general favour which her amiable manners and prudent measures gave her just reason to expect. She was still a papist; and although she published, soon after her arrival, a proclamation enjoining every one to submit to the reformed religion, as established by parliament[3], the more zealous Protestants could neither be reconciled to a person polluted by such an abomination, nor lay aside their jealousies of her future conduct. It was with much difficulty she obtained permission

1 Robertson, book iii. from Brantome. 2. Id. Ibid.
3. Knox. Spotswood. Keith.

to celebrate maſs in her own chapel. "Shall that idol again "be ſuffered to be erected within the realm?" was the common cry; and the uſual prayers in the churches were, that God would turn the queen's heart, which was obſtinate againſt his truth; or if his holy will were otherwiſe, that he would ſtrengthen the hearts and *hands* of the elect, ſtoutly to oppoſe the rage of all tyrants [4]. Nay, lord Lindſey and the gentlemen of Fife exclaimed, "The *Idolater* ſhall die "the death!"

The ringleader in all theſe inſults on majeſty was John Knox, who poſſeſſed an uncontrouled authority in the church, and even in the civil affairs of the nation, and who triumphed in the contumelious uſage of his ſovereign. His uſual appellation for the queen was JEZABEL; and though ſhe endeavoured by the moſt gracious condeſcenſion to win his favour, all her kind advances could gain nothing on his obdurate heart. The pulpits became mere ſtages for railing againſt the vices of the court; among which were always noted as the principal, feaſting, finery, dancing, balls, and whoredom, their neceſſary attendant [5].

Curbed in all amuſements, by the abſurd ſeverity of theſe reformers, Mary, whoſe age, condition, and education, invited her to liberty and chearfulneſs, found reaſon every moment to look back with a ſigh to that country which ſhe had left. After the departure of the French courtiers, her life was one ſcene of bitterneſs and ſorrow. And ſhe perceived that her only expedient for maintaining tranquillity, while ſurrounded by a turbulent nobility, a bigoted people and inſolent eccleſiaſtics, was to preſerve a friendly correſpondence with Elizabeth; who, by former connections and ſervices, had acquired much authority over all ranks of men in Scotland. She therefore ſent Maitland of Lethington to London, in order to pay her compliments to the Engliſh queen, and expreſs a deſire of future good underſtanding between them.

4. Ibid. 5. Knox. p. 332 333

Maitland was alſo inſtructed, to ſignify Mary's willingneſs to renounce all preſent right to the crown of England, provided ſhe was declared, by act of parliament, next heir to the ſucceſſion, in caſe the queen ſhould die without offſpring [6]. But ſo great was the jealous prudence of Elizabeth, that ſhe never would hazard the weakening of her authority by naming a ſucceſſor, or allow the parliament to interpoſe in that matter; much leſs would ſhe make, or permit ſuch a nomination to be made, in favour of a rival queen, who poſſeſſed pretenſions ſo plauſible to ſupplant her, and who, though ſhe might verbally renounce them, could eaſily reſume her claim on the firſt opportunity. Senſible, however, that reaſon would be thought to lie wholly on Mary's ſide, as ſhe herſelf had frequently declared her reſolution to live and die a *virgin-queen*, ſhe thenceforth ceaſed to demand the ratification of the treaty of Edinburgh; and though farther conceſſions were never made by either princeſs, they put on all the appearance of a cordial reconciliation and friendſhip with each other [7].

Elizabeth ſaw, that without her interpoſition, Mary was ſufficiently depreſſed by the mutinous ſpirit of her own ſubjects. Having therefore no apprehenſions from Scotland, nor any deſire to take part at preſent in its affairs, ſhe directed her attention to other objects. After concerting the neceſſary meaſures for the ſecurity of her kingdom and the happineſs of her people, ſhe turned an eye of obſervation toward the great powers on the continent. France being ſtill agitated by religious factions, big with all the horrors of civil war, excited leſs the jealouſy than the compaſſion of its neighbours; ſo that Spain, of all the European kingdoms, could alone be conſidered as the formidable rival of England. Accordingly an animoſity, firſt political, then perſonal, ſoon appeared between the ſovereigns of the two crowns.

6. Keith. Camden. Haynes. 7. Ibid.

Philip

Philip II. as has been already obſerved, immediately after concluding the peace of Chateau-Cambreſis, commenced a furious perſecution againſt the Proteſtants in Spain, Italy, and the Low Countries. That violent ſpirit of bigotry and tyranny by which he was actuated, gave new edge even to the uſual cruelty of prieſts and inquiſitors. He threw into priſon Conſtantine Ponce, who had been confeſſor to his father Charles V. and in whoſe arms that great prince had breathed his laſt. This venerable eccleſiaſtic died in confinement; but Philip ordered, neverthelefs, the ſentence of hereſy to be pronounced againſt his memory. He even deliberated whether he ſhould not exerciſe like ſeverity againſt the memory of his father, who was ſuſpected, during his latter years, of indulging a propenſity towards Lutheraniſm. In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy, he ſpared neither age, ſex, nor condition. He appeared with an inflexible countenance at the moſt barbarous executions; and he iſſued rigorous orders for the proſecution of heretics, even in his American dominions [8]. The limits of the globe ſeemed only enlarged to extend human miſery.

Having founded his deliberate tyranny on maxims of civil policy, as well as on principles of religion, Philip made it evident to all his ſubjects, that there was no means of eſcaping the ſeverity of his vengeance, except by the moſt abject compliance or obſtinate reſiſtance. And by thus placing himſelf at the head of the Catholic party, the determined champion of the Romiſh church, he every where converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partizans of Spaniſh greatneſs.

Happily the adherents of the new doctrines were not without a ſupporter, nor the Spaniſh greatneſs without a counterpoiſe. The courſe of events had placed Elizabeth in a ſituation diametrically oppoſite to that of Philip. Fortune guiding choice, and concurring with policy and inclination,

8. Thuanus, lib. xxiii. Grotius, *Annal.* lib ii. Mariana, lib. v.

had

had raiſed her to be the glory, the bulwark, and the ſtay of the numerous, but generally perſecuted Proteſtants throughout Europe. And ſhe united her intereſts, in all foreign negociations, with thoſe who were ſtruggling for their civil and religious liberties, or guarding themſelves againſt ruin and extermination. Hence the animoſity between her and Philip.

While the queen of Scots continued in France, and aſſerted her claim to the ſouthern Britiſh kingdom, the dread of uniting England to the French monarchy engaged the king of Spain to maintain a good correſpondence with Elizabeth. But no ſooner did the death of Francis II. put an end to Philip's apprehenſions in regard to Mary's ſucceſſion, than his rancour began openly to appear, and the intereſts of Spain and England were found oppoſite in every negociation and public tranſaction. Philip, contrary to the received maxims of policy in that age, ſaw an advantage in ſupporting the power of the French monarch; and Elizabeth, by a concurrence of circumſtances no leſs ſingular, in protecting a faction ready to ſubvert it.

Catherine of Medicis, the queen-mother of France, in conſequence of her maxim of dividing in order to govern, only increaſed the troubles of the ſtate. By balancing the Catholics againſt the Proteſtants, the duke of Guiſe againſt the prince of Condé, ſhe endeavoured to render herſelf neceſſary to both, and to eſtabliſh her own dominion on their conſtrained obedience. But an equal counterpoiſe of power, which among foreign nations, is the ſource of tranquillity, proves always the cauſe of quarrel among domeſtic factions; and if the animoſities of religion concur with the frequent occaſions of mutual injury, it is impoſſible to preſerve, for any time, a firm concord in ſuch a ſituation. Moved by zeal for the ancient faith, the conſtable Montmorency joined himſelf to the duke of Guiſe; the king of Navarre, from his inconſtant temper, and his jealouſy of the ſuperior genius of his brother, embraced the

A. D. 1562.

ſame

ſame party; and the queen-mother, finding herſelf depreſſed by this combination, had recourſe to Condé and the Hugonots, who gladly embraced the opportunity of fortifying themſelves by her countenance and protection [9].

An edict had been publiſhed in the beginning of the year, granting to the Hugonots or Proteſtants, the free exerciſe of their religion, without the walls of towns; provided they taught nothing contrary to the council of Nice, to the Apoſtles' Creed, or the books of the Old and New Teſtament. This edict had been preceded by a famous conference, held at Poiſſy, between the divines of the two religions; in which the cardinal of Lorrain, on the part of the Catholics, and the learned Theodore Beza, on that of the Proteſtants, diſplayed, beyond others, their eloquence and powers of argument. The proteſtant divines boaſted of having greatly the advantage in the diſpute, and the conceſſion of liberty of conſcience made their followers happy in that opinion. But the intereſted violence of the duke of Guiſe, or the intemperate zeal of his attendants, broke once more the tranquillity of religion, and gave a beginning to a frightful civil war. Paſſing by the little town of Vaſſy, on the frontiers of Champagne, where ſome Proteſtants having aſſembled in a barn under the ſanction of the edict, were peaceably worſhipping God in their own way, his retinue wantonly inſulted them. A tumult enſued: the duke himſelf was ſtruck, it is ſaid, with a ſtone: and ſixty of the unarmed multitude were ſacrificed in revenge of that pretended or provoked injury, and in open violation of the public faith [10].

The Proteſtants, over all the kingdom, were alarmed at this maſſacre, and aſſembled in arms under Condé, Coligny, and Andelot, their moſt diſtinguiſhed leaders; while the duke of Guiſe and the conſtable Montmorency, having got poſſeſſion of the king's perſon, obliged the queen-mother to join the

9. Davila, lib. ii. 10. Henault. Mezeray. Daniel.

Catholic party. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family, was distracted with intestine rage and animosity. The father was divided against the son, brother against brother; and women themselves, sacrificing their humanity, as well as their timidity, to the religious fury, distinguished themselves by acts of valour and cruelty [11]. Wherever the Protestants prevailed, the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire; and where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, re-baptised the infants, and forced married persons to pass anew through the ceremony [12]. Plunder, desolation, and bloodshed, attended equally the triumph of both parties: and, to use the words of a profound historian, it was during that period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage, which had long been boiling in men's veins, seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and acrimony [13].

Philip II. jealous of the progress of the Hugonots, who had made themselves masters of Orleans, Bourges, Lyons, Poitiers, Tours, Angers, Angouleme, Rouen, Dieppe, Havre de Grace, and other places of less note; and afraid that the contagion might spread into the Low Countries, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Lorrain, for the protection of the ancient faith, and the suppression of heresy. In consequence of that alliance, he now sent six thousand men to reinforce the Catholic party: and the prince of Condé, finding himself unable to oppose so strong a confederacy countenanced by royal authority, was obliged to crave the assistance of the queen of England. As an inducement he offered to put her in possession of Havre de Grace, on condition that, together with three thousand men for the

11. Davila, lib. iii. Haynes, p. 391. 12. Id. Ibid. 13. Hume, chap. xxxix.

garrison

garrison of the place, she should likewise send over other three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and furnish him with a supply of one hundred thousand crowns [14].

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants, and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives to induce her to accept of this proposal. She was now sensible, that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article in the treaty of Chateau-Cambresis, which regarded the restitution of Calais; and wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre de Grace, which commands the mouth of the Seine, she should easily constrain the French to execute their engagements, and have the honour of restoring Calais to England. She therefore sent over immediately three thousand men, under the command of sir Edward Poynings, and three thousand more soon after, under the earl of Warwick, who took possession of Havre. But Rouen having been invested by the Catholics, under the command of the king of Navarre and the constable Montmorency, before the arrival of the English, it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place; and although the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack with vigour. The town was at last carried by assault, and the garrison and inhabitants put to the sword [15].

It was now expected that the Catholics, flushed with success, would immediately form the siege of Havre, which was as yet in no state of defence; but the intestine disorders of the kingdom diverted their attention to another enterprize. Andelot, seconded by the negociations of Elizabeth, had levied a considerable army in Germany; and arriving at Orleans, the seat of the Protestant power in France, he enabled the prince of Condé and Coligny to take the field, and oppose the progress of their enemies. After threatening

14. Forbes, vol. ii.

15. Davila, lib. iii.

Paris for some time, they took their march toward Normandy, with a view of engaging the English to act in conjunction with them. The Catholics commanded by Montmorency, and under him by the duke of Guise, hung on the rear of the Hugonots, and overtaking them near Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The field was fought with much obstinacy on both sides, and the action was distinguished by a very singular event. Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, both remained prisoners in the hands of their enemies: and what is yet more singular, the prince not only supped at the same table, but lay all night in the same bed with his hostile rival the duke of Guise[16]! So unaccountable were the manners of that age, which could blend the most rancorous animosity with a familiar hospitality, that appears altogether disgusting in these days of superior refinement.

The semblance of victory remained with the Catholics. But Coligny, whose lot it was ever to be defeated, and ever to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the Protestant army, and inspiring his own unconquerable courage into every breast, not only kept them in a body, but took some considerable places in Normandy; and Elizabeth, in order to enable him to support the cause of his party, sent over a new supply of an hundred thousand crowns. Meanwhile the duke of Guise, aiming a mortal blow at the power of the Hugonots, had commenced the siege of Orleans, of which Andelot was governor, and where Montmorency was detained prisoner:

A. D. 1563.

and he had the prospect of speedy success in his undertaking, when he was assassinated by a young gentleman, named Poltrot, whose fanatical zeal for the interests of the Protestant religion instigated him to that atrocious violence[17].

The death of this great man was an irreparable loss to the catholic party. His brother the cardinal of Lorrain,

16. Id. Ibid. 17. Mezeray, tom. v.

though

though eloquent, ſubtle, and intriguing, wanted that enterpriſing and undaunted ſpirit, which had rendered the ambition of the duke ſo formidable; and therefore, though he ſtill purſued the bold ſchemes of his family, the danger of their progreſs appeared not now ſo imminent either to Elizabeth or the French Proteſtants. Of courſe, the union between theſe allies, which had been cemented by their common fears, was in ſome meaſure looſened; and the leaders of the Hugonots were perſuaded to liſten to terms of a ſeparate accommodation. Condé and Montmorency, equally tired of captivity, accordingly held conferences for that purpoſe, and ſoon came to an agreement with reſpect to the conditions. A toleration of their religion, under certain reſtrictions, was again granted to the Proteſtants; a general amneſty was publiſhed, and every one was reinſtated in his offices, dignities, and all civil rights and privileges [18].

The leaders of the Proteſtants only comprehended Elizabeth ſo far in this treaty, as to obtain a promiſe, that, on her relinquiſhing Havre de Grace, her charges and the money which ſhe had advanced them ſhould be repaid her by the king of France; and that Calais, on the expiration of the ſtipulated term, ſhould be reſtored to her. Diſdaining to accept theſe conditions, ſhe ſent Warwick orders to prepare himſelf againſt an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy. The garriſon of Havre conſiſted of ſix thouſand men, independent of ſeven hundred pioneers; and a reſolute defence was expected. But a contagious diſtemper made its apperance among the Engliſh troops, and being increaſed by their fatigue and bad diet, made ſuch ravages in a ſhort time, that there did not remain fifteen hundred men in a condition to do duty. Warwick, who had frequently warned the Engliſh miniſtry of his danger, and loudly demanded a ſupply of men and proviſions, was there-

18. Davila, lib. iii.

fore

fore obliged to capitulate, and content himſelf with the liberty of withdrawing his garriſon [19].

Elizabeth, whoſe uſual vigour and foreſight had failed her in this tranſaction, now found it neceſſary to accede to a compromiſe; and as the queen-mother of France deſired to obtain leiſure, in order to concert meaſures for the extirpation of the Hugonots, ſhe readily hearkened to any reaſonable terms of accommodation with England. It was accordingly agreed, that the hoſtages which the French had given for the reſtitution of Calais, ſhould be delivered up for two hundred and twenty thouſand crowns; and that both parties ſhould retain all their pretenſions [20].

Peace ſtill ſubſiſted between England and Scotland; and a cordial friendſhip even ſeemed to have taken place between Elizabeth and Mary. They made profeſſions of the moſt ſincere affection: they wrote complimentary letters every week to each other; and had adopted, in all appearance, the ſentiments as well as the ſtyle of ſiſters. But the negociations for the marriage of the queen of Scots awakened anew the jealouſy of Elizabeth, and rouſed the zeal of the Scottiſh reformers. Mary's hand was ſolicited by the archduke Charles, the emperor's third ſon; by Don Carlos, heir apparent to the Spaniſh monarchy; and by the duke of Anjou, her former huſband's brother, who ſucceeded ſoon after to the crown of France. Either of thoſe foreign alliances would have been alarming to Elizabeth, and to Mary's Proteſtant ſubjects. She therefore reſolved, notwithſtanding the arguments of her uncle, the cardinal of Lorrain, to ſacrifice her ambition to domeſtic peace; and as Henry Stuart, lordy Darnley, eldeſt ſon of the earl of Lennox, was the firſt Britiſh ſubject whom ſound policy ſeemed to point out to her choice, ſhe determined to make him the partner of her ſway [21].

A. D. 1564.

19. Forbes, vol. ii. 20. Davila, lib. iii. 21. Forbes, vol ii.

Darnley

Darnley was Mary's coufin-german by lady Margaret Douglas, niece to Henry VIII. and daughter of the earl of Angus, by Margaret queen of Scotland. He was, after herfelf, next heir to the Englifh crown. He was alfo, by his father, a branch of her own family; and would, in efpoufing her, preferve the royal dignity in the houfe of Stuart. He had been born and educated in England, where his father had conftantly refided, fince banifhed by the prevailing power of the houfe of Hamilton; and as Elizabeth had often intimated to the queen of Scots, that nothing would fo completely allay all jealoufy between them, as Mary's efpoufing an Englifh nobleman[22], the profpect of the ready approbation of that rival queen was an additional motive for the propofed marriage.

But although Mary, as a queen, feemed to be folely influenced by political confiderations in the choice of a royal confort, fhe had other motives, as a woman, for fingling out Darnley as a hufband. He was in the full bloom and vigour of youth, tall and well proportioned, and furpaffed all the men of his time in every exterior grace. He eminently excelled in all the arts which difplay a handfome perfon to advantage, and which, in polifhed nations, are dignified with the name of elegant accomplifhments. Mary was at an age, and of a complexion, to feel the force of fuch attractions. Lord Darnley accordingly made a conqueft of her heart at their firft interview. And it cannot be doubted but fhe made a deep impreffion upon his. Thus inclination confpired with policy to promote their union; nor was it once fufpected, that any oppofition would be made by the Englifh queen.

Secretly Elizabeth was not difpleafed with Mary's choice; as it freed her at once from the dread of a foreign alliance; and from the neceffity of parting with the earl of Leicefter, her own handfome favourite, whom fhe had propofed as a

22. Keith.

husband to the queen of Scots. But besides, a womanish jealousy and envy, proceeding from a consciousness of Mary's superior charms, which led her on all occasions to thwart the matrimonial views of that princess, certain ungenerous political motives induced her to shew a disapprobation of the projected marriage with Darnley, though she either did not wish, or was sensible that she could not obstruct it. By declaring her dissatisfaction with Mary's conduct, Elizabeth hoped to alarm the party in Scotland that was attached to the English interest; and to raise, by their means, intestine commotions, which would not only secure her own kingdom from all disturbance on that side, but enable her to become the umpire between the Scottish queen and her contending subjects[23].

The scheme immediately succeeded in part, and afterward had its full effect. The earl of Murray, and other Protestant noblemen, were the dupes of Elizabeth's intrigues. Under pretence of zeal for the reformed religion, because the family of Lennox was believed to adhere to the Catholic faith, but in reality to support their own sinking authority, they formed among themselves bonds of confederacy and mutual defence. They entered into a secret correspondence with the English resident, in order to secure Elizabeth's assistance, when it should become necessary; and despairing of being able to prevent the marriage of the queen of Scots by any other means, they concerted measures for seizing Darnley, and carrying him prisoner into England[24]. They failed, however, in the attempt; and Mary having obtained the general consent of the Scottish nation, and being anxious to bring to a period an affair which had long engaged her heart, and occupied her attention, celebrated her marriage with the captivating young nobleman who had been the object of their conspiracy.

A. D. 1565. July 19.

Conscious that all hopes of reconciliation were now at an end,

23. Ibid. 24. Melvil.

end, the aſſociated lords aſſembled their followers and flew to arms; but by the vigour and activity of Mary, who appeared herſelf at the head of her troops, rode with loaded piſtols, and endured, with admirable fortitude, all the fatigues of war, the rebels were obliged to fly into England[25]. There they met with a reception very different from what they expected, and which ſtrongly marks the character of Elizabeth. That politic princeſs had already effectually ſerved her purpoſe, by exciting in Scotland, through their means, ſuch diſcord and jealouſies as would in all probability long diſtract and weaken Mary's government. It was now her buſineſs to ſave appearances; and as the malcontents had failed of ſucceſs, ſhe thought proper to diſavow all connexions with them. She would not even grant an audience to the earl of Murray and the abbot of Kilwinning, appointed by the other fugitives to wait on her, till they had meanly conſented to acknowledge, in the preſence of the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, who accuſed her of fomenting the troubles in Scotland by her intrigues, that ſhe had given them no encouragement to take up arms. "You have ſpoken the truth!"—replied ſhe, as ſoon as they had made this declaration:—"I am far from "ſetting an example of rebellion to my own ſubjects, by "countenancing thoſe who rebel againſt their lawful ſove-"reign. The treaſon of which you have been guilty, is "deteſtable; and as traitors, I baniſh you my preſence[26]." So little feeling had ſhe for men, who, out of confidence in her promiſes, had hazarded their lives and fortunes to ſerve her!

The Scottiſh exiles, finding themſelves ſo harſhly treated by Elizabeth, had recourſe to the clemency of their own ſovereign; and Mary, whoſe temper naturally inclined her to lenity, ſeemed determined to reſtore them to favour, when the arrival of an ambaſſador from France altered her reſolution[27]. The peace granted to the

A. D. 1566.

25. Keith, *Append.* 26. Melvil. 27. Ibid.

reformers in that kingdom, was intended only to lull them asleep, and prepare the way for their final and absolute destruction. For this purpose, an interview had been appointed at Bayonne, between Charles IX. now in his sixteenth year, and his sister the queen of Spain. Catharine of Medicis accompanied her son; the duke of Alva attended his mistress. Gaiety, festivity, love, and joy, seemed to be the sole occupation of both courts; but under these smiling appearances was hatched a scheme the most bloody and the most destructive to the repose of mankind that had ever been suggested by superstition to the human heart. Nothing less was resolved upon and concerted than the extermination of the Hugonots in France, the Protestants in the Low Countries, and the extinction of the Reformed opinions throughout all Europe[28].

Of this Catholic or *Holy League* (for so that detestable conspiracy was called) an account was brought, by the French ambassador, to the queen of Scots; conjuring her at the same time, in the name of the king of France, and the cardinal of Lorrain, not to restore the leaders of the Protestants in her kingdom to power and favour, at the very time when the Popish princes on the continent were combined for the total extirpation of that sect[29]. Deeply tinctured with all the prejudices of popery, and devoted with the most humble submission to her uncles the princes of Lorrain, whose counsels from her infancy she had been accustomed to receive with filial respect, Mary instantly joined the confederacy:—and hence the change of her resolution in regard to the banished lords[30].

The effects of this new system were soon visible in the conduct of the queen of Scots. The parliament was summoned for the attainder of the rebels, whose guilt was palpable, and some measures were concerted for re-establishing the

28. Thuan. lib. xxxvii. Davila, lib. iii. 29. Melvil.
30. Robertson, *Hist. Scot.* Append. No. XIII.

Romish

Romiſh religion in Scotland[31]; ſo that the ruin of Murray and his party ſeemed now inevitable, and the deſtruction of the reformed church no diſtant event, when an unexpected incident ſaved both, and brought on, in the ſequel, the ruin of Mary herſelf.

The incident to which I allude, is the murder of David Rizio, a man whoſe birth and education afforded little reaſon to ſuppoſe that he ſhould ever attract the hiſtorian's notice, but whoſe tragical death, and its conſequences, make it neceſſary to record his adventures. The ſon of a teacher of muſic at Turin, and himſelf a muſician, Rizio had accompanied the Piedmonteſe ambaſſador into Scotland, where he gained admittance into the queen's family by his ſkill in his profeſſion; and as Mary found him neceſſary to complete her muſical band, ſhe retained him in her ſervice, by permiſſion, after the departure of his maſter. Shrewd, ſupple, and aſpiring beyond his condition, he quickly crept into the queen's favour; and her French ſecretary happening to retire into his own country, ſhe promoted Rizio to that office, which gave him frequent opportunity of approaching her perſon, and of inſinuating himſelf ſtill farther into her good graces. He now began to make a figure at court, and to appear as a man of weight and conſequence: and he availed himſelf ſo well of the acceſs which fortune had procured him, that he was ſoon regarded not only as the queen's chief confidant, but even as her miniſter. To him the whole train of ſuitors and expectants applied; and among the reſt Darnley, whoſe marriage Rizio promoted, in hopes of acquiring a new patron, while he co-operated with his miſtreſs's wiſhes.

But this marriage, ſo natural and ſo inviting in all its circumſtances, diſappointed the expectations both of the queen and her favourite, and terminated in events the moſt ſhocking to humanity. Allured by the ſtature, ſymmetry, and exterior accompliſhments of Darnley, Mary in her choice

31. Keith, p. 316.

had overlooked the qualities of his mind, which correſponded ill with thoſe of his perſon. Violent yet variable in his temper, ſhe could neither by her gentleneſs bridle his inſolent and imperious ſpirit, nor preſerve him by her vigilance from raſh and imprudent actions. Of mean underſtanding, but, like moſt fools, conceited of his own abilities, he was devoid of all gratitude, becauſe he thought no favours equal to his merit; and being addicted to low pleaſures, to drunkenneſs and debauchery, he was incapable of any true ſentiments of love or tenderneſs[32]. All Mary's fondneſs and generoſity made no laſting impreſſion on ſuch a heart. He became, by degrees, careleſs of her perſon, and a ſtranger to her company. To a woman and a queen ſuch behaviour was intolerable; but more eſpecially to Mary, who poſſeſſed great ſenſibility of temper, and who in the firſt effuſions of her love, had taken a pride in exalting her huſband beyond meaſure. She had granted him the title of King, and had joined his name with her own in all public acts. Her diſappointed paſſion was therefore as violent, when rouſed into reſentment, as her firſt affection had been ſtrong; and his behaviour appeared ungenerous and criminal, in proportion to the diſtance ſhe had ſtooped to raiſe him, and the honour and conſequence to which ſhe had lifted him.

The heart, ſore from the wounds and the agitations of unrequited love, naturally ſeeks the repoſe, the conſolation, and the lenient aſſauſives of friendſhip. Rizio ſtill poſſeſſed the confidence of Mary; and as the brutal behaviour of her huſband rendered a confidant now more neceſſary, ſhe ſeems not only to have made uſe of her ſecretary's company, and his muſical talents, to ſoothe her diſquieted boſom, but to have imprudently ſhared with him her domeſtic griefs. To ſuppoſe that he alſo ſhared her embraces, is to offer an injury to her character, for which hiſtory affords no proper foun-

32. Goodal, vol. i. Robertſon, book iv.

dation.

dation[33]. But the assuming vanity of the upstart, who affected to talk often and familiarly with the queen in public, and who boasted of his intimacy in private; the dark and suspicious mind of Darnley, who, instead of imputing Mary's coldness to his own misconduct, which had so justly deserved it, ascribed the change in her behaviour (so different from the first and happy days of their union!) to the influence of a new passion, together with the rigid austerity of the Scottish clergy, who could admit of no freedoms, contributed to spread this opinion among the people, ever ready to listen to any slander on the court; and the enemies of the favourite, no less ready to take advantage of any popular clamour, made it a pretence for their unjust and inhuman vengeance.

Rizio, who had connected his interests with the Roman Catholics, was the declared enemy of the banished lords; and by promoting the violent prosecution against them, he had exposed himself to the animosity of their numerous friends and adherents. Among these were the lords Ruthven and Lindsay, the earl of Morton, and Maitland of Lethington. While they were ruminating upon their grievances, and the means of redress, the king communicated his resolution to be avenged of Rizio to lord Ruthven, and implored his assistance and that of his friends toward the execution of his design. Nothing could be more acceptable to the whole party than such an overture. The murder of the favourite was instantly agreed upon, and as quickly carried into execution. Morton having secured the gates of the palace with an hundred and sixty armed men, the king, accompanied by the other con-

33. Buchanan, whose prejudices are well known, is the only Scottish historian who directly accuses Mary of a criminal love for Rizio. Knox, notwithstanding his violence and inveteracy, only slightly insinuates that such a suspicion was entertained. But the silence of Randolph, the English Resident, a man abundantly ready to mention, and to aggravate Mary's faults, and who does not once insinuate that her confidence in Rizio contained any thing criminal, is a sufficient vindication of her innocence against all such aspersions.

ſpirators, entered the queen's apartment, by a private paſſage, while ſhe was at ſupper with her natural ſiſter, the counteſs of Argyle, Rizio, and a few more of her courtiers. Mary, who was now in the ſixth month of her pregnancy, alarmed at ſuch an unuſual viſit, demanded the reaſon of this rude intruſion. They anſwered her by pointing to Rizio; who immediately apprehending that he was the devoted victim, retired behind the queen's chair, and ſeized her by the waiſt, hoping that the reſpect due to her royal perſon would prove ſome protection to him. But the conſpirators had gone too far to be reſtrained by punctilios. George Douglas, one of their number, laying hold of Darnley's dagger, ſtuck it in the body of Rizio; who, ſcreaming with fear and agony, was torn from Mary, and puſhed into the antichamber, where he was diſpatched with many wounds [34].

"I will weep no more," ſaid the queen, drying her tears, when informed of her favourite's fate;—"I ſhall now think "of revenge." The inſult on her perſon, the ſtain attempted to be fixed on her honour, and the danger to which her life was expoſed, on account of the advanced ſtate of her pregnancy, were injuries ſo atrocious and complicated, as ſcarcely indeed to admit of pardon, even from the greateſt lenity. Mary's reſentment, however, was implacable againſt her huſband alone. She artfully engaged him, by her perſuaſions and careſſes, to diſown all connection with the conſpirators, whom he had promiſed to protect; to deny any concurrence in their crime; nay, to publiſh a proclamation containing ſo notorious a falſehood [35]! And having thus made him expoſe himſelf to univerſal contempt, and rendered it impracticable for him to acquire the confidence of any party, ſhe threw him off with diſdain and indignation.

Meanwhile the anger of the queen of Scots, abſorbed by injuries more recent and violent, having ſubſided from

34. Melvil. Keith. Crawfurd. 35. Keith, *Append.* Goodal, vol. i.

former

former offenders, ſhe had been reconciled to the baniſhed lords. They were reinſtated in their honours and fortunes. The accomplices in Rizio's murder, who had fled into England on being deſerted by Darnley, alſo applied to her for pardon: and although ſhe at firſt refuſed compliance, ſhe afterward, through the interceſſion of Bothwell, a new favourite, who was deſirous of ſtrengthening his party by the acceſſion of their intereſt, permitted them to return into their own country [36].

The hour of Mary's labour now approached; and as it ſeemed imprudent to expoſe her perſon, at ſuch a time, to the inſults which ſhe might ſuffer in a kingdom torn by factions, ſhe left the palace, and made the caſtle of Edinburgh the place of her reſidence. There ſhe was ſafely delivered of a ſon; and this being a very important event to England as well as to Scotland, ſhe inſtantly diſpatched ſir James Melvil to London with the intereſting intelligence. It ſtruck Elizabeth forcibly and by ſurpriſe. She had given a ball to her court at Greenwich on the evening of Melvil's arrival, and was diſplaying all that ſpirit and gaiety which uſually attended her on ſuch occaſions; but no ſooner was ſhe informed of the prince of Scotland's birth, than all her vivacity left her. Senſible of the ſuperiority her rival had now acquired, ſhe ſunk into deep melancholy: ſhe reclined her head upon her hand, the tears trickling down her cheek, and complained to ſome of her attendants, that the queen of Scots was mother of a fair ſon, while ſhe herſelf was but a barren ſtock [37]. Next morning, however, at the audience of the ambaſſador, ſhe reſumed her wonted chearfulneſs and diſſimulation; thanked Melvil for his haſte in bringing her ſuch agreeable news, and expreſſed the moſt cordial friendſhip for her ſiſter Mary [38].

June 19.

The birth of a ſon, as Elizabeth foreſaw, gave additional zeal, as well as weight to the partizans of the queen of Scots

36. Melvil. Keith. Knox. 37. Melvil. 38. Ibid.

in

in England; and even men of the moſt oppoſite parties began to call aloud for ſome ſettlement of the crown. The Engliſh queen had now reigned eight years, without diſcovering the leaſt intention to marry. A violent illneſs, with which ſhe was ſeized, had lately endangered her life, and alarmed the nation with a proſpect of all the calamities that are occaſioned by a diſputed and dubious ſucceſſion. In order to provide againſt thoſe evils, a motion was made, and eagerly liſtened to in both houſes of parliament, for addreſſing the queen on the ſubject. Her love for her people, her duty to the public, her concern to poſterity, it was urged, equally called upon her, either to declare her own *reſolution* to *marry*, or conſent to an act *eſtabliſhing* the order of *ſucceſſion* to the crown[39].

Elizabeth's ambitious and maſculine character, and the poſitive affirmation, which ſhe had often and early made, as already obſerved, that ſhe meant to live and die a VIRGIN-QUEEN, rendered it improbable, notwithſtanding the inſinuations of her miniſters, that ſhe would take the firſt of theſe ſteps; and as no title to the crown could, with any colour of juſtice, be ſet in oppoſition to that of the queen of Scots, moſt of the Engliſh nobility ſeemed convinced of the neceſſity of declaring her the preſumptive ſucceſſor. The union of the two kingdoms was a deſirable object to all diſcerning men; and the birth of the prince of Scotland gave hopes of its perpetuity. Even the more moderate Proteſtants, ſoothed by Mary's lenity to her own ſubjects, concurred with the Catholics in ſupporting her claim[40]. Nor would all the policy and addreſs of Elizabeth have been able to prevent the ſettlement of the crown on her rival, had not Mary's indiſcretions, if not her crimes, thrown her from the ſummit of proſperity and plunged her in infamy and ruin.

James Hepburn, earl of Bothwell, the head of an ancient family in Scotland, but a man of profligate manners, and by

39. D'Ewes' *Journ. of Parliament.* 40. Melvil.

no

no means eminent for talents either civil or military, had distinguished himself by his attachment to the queen; and since the death of Rizio, from the custody of whose murderers he had been the chief instrument of releasing her, Mary's gratitude, and perhaps a warmer sentiment, had loaded him with particular marks of her favour and confidence. She had raised him to offices of power and of trust, and transacted no matter of importance without his advice. Bothwell gained on her affection (for such it certainly soon became) in proportion as her regard for her husband declined; and her contempt for the latter appears to have been completed, though not occasioned, by her love for the former. The attention and complaisance of a man, who had vindicated her authority, and protected her person; who entered into all her views, and watched every opportuuity of recommending his passion, could scarce indeed fail of making an impression on a heart naturally too susceptible; or of rousing to the greatest height the indignation of a woman and a queen, against an unworthy object, on whom she had placed her love, and who had requited it with neglect, with insult, and with brutality [41].

Mary was not only suspected of a criminal commerce with Bothwell, but so indiscreet had her familiarity been, and so strongly marked her hatred against her husband, that when Henry, unable to bear that insignificance into which he was fallen, left the court and retired to Glasgow, a distemper of an extraordinary nature, with which he was seized soon after his arrival, was universally ascribed by her enemies to a dose of poison, which it was pretended she had procured to be administered to him. The king himself, however, seems to have had no such suspicion; for the queen having paid him a visit during his sickness, and discovered great anxiety for his recovery, he accompanied her to Edinburgh, as soon as he could be moved,

A. D. 1567.

41. Anderson, vol. i. p. 93, 94. Robertson, book iv.

in order that she herself might be able to attend him without being absent from her son [42]. He was lodged for the benefit of retirement and air, as was pretended, in a solitary house called the Kirk of Field, situated on a rising ground, at some distance from the palace of Holyrood House. There he was assiduously attended by Mary, who slept several nights in the chamber under his apartment. But on the ninth of February, about eleven o'clock at night, she left the Kirk of Field, in order to be present at a masque in the palace; and about two two o'clock next morning, the house in which the king lay was blown up with gunpowder, and his dead body was found in a neighbouring enclosure [43].

The earl of Bothwell was generally considered as the author of this horrid murder [44]: some suspicions were entertained that the queen herself was no stranger to the crime; and the subsequent conduct of both, independent of every other circumstance, affords a strong presumption of their mutual guilt. Mary not only industriously avoided bringing Bothwell to a *fair* and *legal* trial [45], notwithstanding the earnest entreaties of the earl of Lennox, the king's father, and the general voice of the nation, but allowed the man, publicly accused of the murder of her husband, to enjoy all the dignity and power, as well as all the confidence and

42. Goodal, vol. ii. Dr. Robertson supposes this confidence to have been inspired by the insidious blandishments of Mary. *Hist. Scot.* book iv.

43. Craufurd. Spotswood. Keith.

44. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 155. Anderson, vol. i.

45. A kind of mock trial was held, but hurried on with indecent precipitancy, and preceded by so many indications of violence, that Lennox was afraid to appear in support of his charge. After in vain craving delay, he therefore protested against the *legality* of any sentence that might be given. As no accuser appeared, the jury was under the necessity of acquitting Bothwell; but this judgment, pronounced without the examination of a single witness, was considered as an argument of his guilt rather than a proof of his innocence. Besides other suspicious circumstances, he was accompanied to the place of trial by a large body of armed men. Anderson, vol. i. Keith, p. 375, 376.

familiarity of a favourite [46]! She committed to him the government of the caſtle of Edinburgh [47]; which, with the offices he already poſſeſſed, gave him the entire command of the South of Scotland. She was carried off by him, in returning from a viſit to her ſon, and ſeemingly with her own conſent [48]; ſhe lived with him for ſome time in a ſtate of ſuppoſed violation; and as ſoon as he could procure a ſentence of divorce, ſeparating him from a young lady of virtue and merit, to whom he was lawfully married, ſhe ſhamefully gave her hand to this reputed raviſher and regicide! May 15.

The particular ſteps, by which theſe events were brought about, are of little moment: it is of more importance to mark their conſequences. Such a quick ſucceſſion of incidents, ſo ſingular, and ſo deteſtable, filled all Europe with amazement, and threw infamy not only on the principal actors in the guilty ſcene, but alſo on the whole nation. The Scots were univerſally reproached as men void of courage, or of humanity; as equally regardleſs of the reputation of their queen, and the honour of their country, in ſuffering ſo many atrocious actions to paſs with impunity [49].

Theſe reproaches, ſo juſtly merited, together with ſome attempts made by Bothwell to get the young prince into his power, rouſed the Scottiſh nobles from their lethargy. A conſiderable body of them aſſembled at Stirling, and entered into an aſſociation for the defence of the prince's perſon, and for puniſhing the king's murderers [50]. The queen and

46. Even when lying under the accuſation of the king's murder, Bothwell lived for ſome time in the ſame houſe with Mary, and took his ſeat in the council as uſual, inſtead of being confined to cloſe priſon. Anderſon, vol. i. ii.

47. Spotſwood, p. 201.

48. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 158. Melvil, who was himſelf one of Mary's attendants, tells us not only that he ſaw no ſigns of reluctance, but that he was informed the whole tranſaction was managed in concert with her.

49. Anderſon, vol. i. Melvil, p. 163. Robertſon, Append. No. XX.

50. Keith, p. 394.

Bothwell

Bothwell were thrown into the utmost consternation by the news of this league. They were no strangers to the sentiments of the nation with respect to their conduct: they foresaw the storm that was ready to burst on their heads; and, in order to provide against it, Mary issued a proclamation, requiring her subjects to take arms and attend her husband by a day appointed. She published, at the same time, a sort of manifesto, in which she endeavoured to vindicate her government from those imputations with which it had been loaded, and employed the strongest terms to express her concern for the safety and welfare of the prince her son. But neither of these measures produced any considerable effect. The associated lords had assembled an army, before the queen and Bothwell were in any condition to face them. Mary and her husband fled to Dunbar; and as Bothwell had many dependants in that quarter, he gathered in a short time, such strength as emboldened him to leave the town and castle, and advance toward the confederates.

The two armies met at Carberry-hill, about six miles from Edinburgh; and Mary was soon made sensible, that her own troops, nearly equal in number to those of the confederates, disapproved of her cause, and were averse to spill their blood in her quarrel [51]. They discovered no inclination to fight. She endeavoured to animate them: she wept, she threatened, she reproached them with cowardice; but all in vain. After some bravadoes of Bothwell, to vindicate his innocence, by single combat, but which he declined when an adversary offered to enter the lists, Mary saw no resource but that of holding a conference with Kirkaldy of Grange, one of the chief of the confederates, and of putting herself, on some general promises, into their hands [52].

Bothwell, during this parley, took his last farewel of the queen, and fled unattended to Dunbar; where, finding it im-

51. Spotswood, p. 207. Keith, p. 401, 402.
52. Calderwood, vol. ii. Melvil, p. 165.

possible

possible to collect fresh forces, he fitted out a few small vessels, set sail for the Orkneys, and there subsisted some time by piracy. But being pursued even to that extreme corner by Kirkaldy, the greater part of his little fleet was taken, together with several of his servants, who afterwards discovered all the circumstances of the king's murder, and suffered for their share in the crime[53]. Bothwell himself made his escape to Norway with a single ship. On that coast he attempted to renew his piracies; was there taken, thrown into prison, lost his senses, and died miserably, ten years after, in the bottom of a dungeon, unpitied by his countrymen, and neglected by strangers[54].

Meanwhile the queen of Scots, now in the hands of an enraged faction, met with such treatment as a sovereign may naturally expect from subjects, who have their future security to provide for, as well as their present animosity to gratify. She was conducted to Edinburgh, amid the insults of the populace; who reproached her with her crimes, and held up before her eyes, which way soever she turned, a standard, on which was painted the dead body of her late husband, and her infant son kneeling before it, and uttering these words: "Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!"—Mary shrunk with horror from such a shocking object; but notwithstanding all her argument and entreaties, the same standard was held to view, and the same insults and reproaches repeated[55]. Under pretence that her behaviour was unsuitable to her condition, and fearing the return of Bothwell, to whom she still declared her attachment, the confederates sent her next day to the castle of Lochlevin, seated on a small island, in the middle of the lake of the same name; and signed a warrant to William Douglas, the owner of it, to detain her there prisoner[56].

No sooner did the news of these events reach England,

53. Anderson, vol. ii. 54. Melvil's *Mem.* p. 168.
55. Crawfurd's *Mem.* p. 33. Keith, p. 402. Robertson, book iv.
56. Keith, p. 403.

than

than Elizabeth, apparently laying aside all her jealousies and fears, seemed resolved to employ her authority for alleviating the calamities of her unhappy kinswoman. She instantly dispatched sir Nicholas Throgmorton into Scotland, with power to negociate both with the queen and her confederates. In his instructions there appears a remarkable solicitude for Mary's liberty, and even for her reputation [57]. But neither Elizabeth's interposition, nor Throgmorton's zeal and abilities, were of much benefit to the Scottish queen. The confederates foresaw that Mary, elated by the prospect of protection, would reject with disdain the overtures which they intended to make her; they therefore peremptorily denied the ambassador access to their prisoner, and either refused or eluded what proposals he made them in her behalf [58].

The queen of Scots, in the meantime, endured all the rigour and horrors of a prison. No prospect of liberty appeared: none of her subjects had either taken arms, or so much as solicited her relief; nor was any person in whom she could confide admitted into her presence. She was cut off from all the world. In this melancholy situation, without a counsellor, without a friend, under the pressure of misfortune, and the apprehension of danger, it was natural for a woman to listen to almost any overtures. The confederates took advantage of Mary's distress and of her fears. They employed lord Lindsay, the fiercest zealot of the party, to make her acquainted with their purpose; and they threatened to prosecute her, as the principal conspirator against the life of her husband and the safety of her son, if she refused to comply with their demands. Mary, overpowered by her unhappy condition, and believing that no deed which she should execute during her captivity, could be valid, signed a resignation of the crown; in consequence of which the earl of Murray was appointed regent under the July 24.

57. Keith, p. 411. 58. Ibid. p. 417.

young

young prince, who was proclaimed king, by the name of James VI.[59].

Here, my dear Philip, I muſt make a pauſe, for the ſake of perſpicuity. The ſubſequent part of this intereſting ſtory the continuation of the civil wars in France, and the riſe of thoſe in the Low Countries, will furniſh materials for the next Letter.

59. Anderſon. Melvil. Keith. Crawfurd.

LETTER LXVII.

GREAT BRITAIN *from the Flight of the Queen of* SCOTS *into* ENGLAND, *with an Account of the Civil Wars on the* CONTINENT, *till the Death of* CHARLES IX. *of* FRANCE, *in* 1574.

THE condeſcenſion of the queen of Scots in reſigning the crown to her ſon, and the adminiſtration of government to her rebellious ſubjects, did not procure her enlargement. She was ſtill confined in the caſtle of Lochlevin. A parliament, ſummoned by the earl of Murray, even declared her reſignation valid, and her impriſonment lawful, while it recognized his election to the office of regent[1]; and being a man of vigour and abilities, he employed himſelf ſucceſsfully in reducing the kingdom to obedience.

But although moſt men ſeemed to acquieſce in Murray's authority, there ſtill abounded in Scotland many ſecret murmurs and cabals. The duke of Chatelheraut, who, as firſt prince of the blood, thought he had an undoubted right to the regency, bore no goodwill to the new government: and the ſame ſentiments were embraced by his numerous friends and adherents. All who leaned to the ancient opinions in

1. Anderſon, vol. ii.

religion, were inclined to join this party; and the length and rigour of Mary's sufferings began to move many, who had formerly detested her crimes, or blamed her imprudence, to commiserate her present condition [2]. Animated A. D. 1568. by these different motives, a body of the nobility met at Hamilton, and concerted measures for supporting the cause of the queen.

While the Scottish nation seemed thus returning to sentiments of duty and loyalty to their sovereign, Mary recovered her liberty, in a manner no less surprising to her friends than unexpected by her enemies. She engaged, by her charms and caresses, George Douglas, her keeper's brother, to assist her in attempting her escape. He con-May 2. veyed her in disguise into a small boat, and himself rowed her ashore. She hastened to Hamilton; and the news of her arrival at that place being immediately spread abroad, her court was filled in a few days, with a great and splendid train of nobility, accompanied by such numbers of their retainers, as composed an army of six thousand combatants. Her resignation of the crown, which she declared to have been extorted by fear, was pronounced illegal and void, by a council of the nobles and chief men of her party; and an association was formed, at the same time, for the defence of her person and authority, and subscribed by nine earls, nine bishops, eighteen lords, and many gentlemen of distinction [3].

Elizabeth, when informed of the escape of the queen of Scots, discovered a resolution of persevering in the same generous and friendly measures which she had hitherto pursued, since the confinement of that princess. She is supposed to have been chiefly withheld from employing force against the regent, by the fear of pushing him to still greater extremities against his sovereign; and she now dispatched Maitland of Lethington into Scotland, to offer her good offices, and the

2. Buchanan, lib. xviii.

3. Keith, p. 475.

assistance of her arms to Mary [4]. But the Regent made such haste to assemble forces, that the fate of Scotland was decided before any English succours could arrive. Confiding in the valour of his troops, Murray took the field with an army far inferior to Mary's in number; and a battle was fought at Langside near Glasgow, which proved decisive in his favour, and was followed by the total dispersion of the queen's party.

Mary, who, within the space of thirteen days, had been a prisoner at the mercy of her rebellious subjects, had seen a powerful army under her command and a numerous train of nobles at her devotion, was now obliged to flee, in the utmost danger of her life, and lurk with a few attendants, in a corner of her kingdom. She had beheld the engagement from a neighbouring hill; and so lively were her impressions of fear when she saw that army broken, on which her last hope rested, that she never closed her eyes till she reached the abbey of Dundrenan, in Galloway, above sixty miles from the field of battle [5]. Not thinking herself safe, even in that obscure retreat, and still haunted by the horrors of a prison, she embraced the rash resolution of retiring into England, and of throwing herself on the generosity of her kinswoman.

Elizabeth was now under the necessity of coming to some decisive determination, with respect to her treatment of the queen of Scots; and the pleasure of mortifying, while in her power, a rival whose beauty and accomplishments she envied, together with the cautious and interested counsels of Cecil her prime minister, determined her to disregard all the motives of friendship and generous sympathy, and to regulate her conduct solely by the cruel maxims of an insidious policy. In answer therefore to Mary's message, notifying her arrival in England, craving leave to visit the queen, and claiming her protection, in consequence of former promises

4. Buchanan, lib. xix. Keith, p. 477.

5. Keith, p. 482.

and

and professions of regard, Elizabeth artfully replied, That while the queen of Scots lay under the imputation of a crime so horrid as the murder of her husband, she could not, without bringing a stain on her own reputation, admit her into her presence; but as soon as she had cleared herself from that aspersion, she might depend on a reception suitable to her dignity, and support proportioned to her necessities [6].

Mary was overwhelmed with sorrow and surprise at so unexpected a manner of evading her request: nor was her bosom a stranger to the feelings of indignation; but the distress of her condition obliged her to declare, that she would willingly justify herself to her sister from all imputations, and chearfully submit her cause to the arbitration of so good a friend [7]. This was the very point to which Elizabeth wished to bring the matter, and the great object of her intrigues. She now considered herself as umpire between the queen of Scots and her subjects, and began to act in that capacity. She proposed to appoint commissioners to hear the pleadings on both sides, and wrote to the Regent of Scotland, to appoint proper persons to appear before them in his name, and to produce what he could alledge in vindication of his proceedings against his sovereign.

Mary, who had hitherto relied with some degree of confidence on Elizabeth's professions, and who, when she consented to submit her cause to that princess, expected that the queen herself would receive and examine her defences, now plainly perceived the artifice of her rival, and the snare that had been laid for her [8]. She therefore retracted the offer she had made, and which had been perverted to a purpose so contrary to her intention; she meant to consider Elizabeth as an equal, for whose satisfaction she was willing to explain any part of her conduct, that seemed liable to censure, not to acknowledge her as a superior. But her own words will best express her sentiments on this subject. "In my present

6. Anderson, vol. iv. 7. Id. ibid. 8. Anderson, ubi sup.

"situation,"

"situation," says she, in a letter to the English queen, "I "neither will nor can reply to the accusations of my subjects. "But I am ready, of my own accord, and out of friendship "to you, to satisfy your scruples, and to vindicate my own "conduct. My subjects are not my equals: nor will I, by "submitting my cause to a judicial trial, acknowledge them "to be so. I fled into your arms as into those of my nearest "relation, and most perfect friend. I did you honour, as I "imagined, in chusing you preferably to any other prince, "to be the restorer of an injured queen. Was it ever "known that a prince was blamed for hearing in person the "complaints of those who applied to his justice, against the "false accusations of their enemies? "You admitted into "your presence my bastard brother, who had been guilty of "rebellion; and you deny me that honour! God forbid "that I should be the cause of bringing any stain on your "reputation! I expected that your manner of treating me "would have added lustre to it. Suffer me either to implore "the aid of other princes, whose delicacy on this head will "be less, and the resentment of my wrongs greater; or let "me receive from your hands that assistance, which it be-"comes you more than any other prince to grant; and by "that benefit bind me to yourself in the indissoluble ties of "gratitude [9]."

This letter, which somewhat disconcerted her plan, the English queen laid before her privy council; and it was there agreed, that Elizabeth could not, consistently with her own honour, or with the safety of her government, either give the queen of Scots the assistance which she demanded, or permit her to retire out of the kingdom, before the inquiry into her conduct was finished. It was also agreed to remove Mary, for the sake of greater safety, from Carlisle, where she had taken refuge, to Bolton, a castle belonging to lord Scroop, on the borders of Yorkshire [10].

8. Anderson, ubi sup. 9. Anderson, vol. iv. 10. Ibid.

The resolution of the English privy council, in regard to Mary's person, was immediately carried into execution; and she now found herself entirely in her rival's power. Her correspondence with her friends in Scotland was become more difficult; all prospect of escape was cut off; and although she was still treated with the respect due to a queen, her real condition was that of a prisoner. She knew what it was to be deprived of liberty, and dreaded confinement as the worst of evils.

Elizabeth laid hold of this season of terror, of impatience, and despair, to extort Mary's consent to the projected trial. She was confident, she said, that the queen of Scots would find no difficulty in refuting all the calumnies of her enemies; and though her apology should even fall short of conviction, she was determined to support her cause. It was never meant, she added, that Mary should be cited to a trial on the accusation of her rebellious subjects; but on the contrary, that they would be summoned to appear and to justify themselves *for* their conduct toward her[11]. Commissioners were accordingly appointed by the English ministry for the examination of this great cause; and conferences were held between them and the Scottish commissioners, part in the name of the queen, and part in behalf of the king and kingdom, first at York, and afterward at Westminster.

During the conferences at York, Mary's commissioners seemed to triumph, as the Regent had hitherto declined accusing her of any participation in the guilt of her husband's murder, which alone could justify the violent proceedings of her subjects. But the face of the question was soon changed, on the renewal of the conferences at Westminster immediately under the eye of the English queen. Murray, encouraged by the assurances of Elizabeth's protection, laid aside his delicacy and his fears, and not only charged his sovereign with consenting to the murder of her husband, but

11. Id Ibid.

with being acceffary to the contrivance and execution of it. The fame accufation was offered by the earl of Lennox, who appearing before the Englifh commiffioners, craved vengeance for the blood of his fon [12].

But accufations were not enough for Elizabeth; fhe wanted to have proofs: and in order to draw them with decency from the Regent, fhe commanded her commiffioners to teftify her indignation and difpleafure at his prefumption, in forgetting fo far the duty of a fubject, as to accufe his fovereign of fuch atrocious crimes. Murray, thus arraigned in his turn, offered to fhew that his accufations were neither falfe nor malicious. He produced, among other evidences, in fupport of his charge, fome Sonnets and Love-letters, from Mary to Bothwell, written partly before, partly after the murder of her hufband, and containing inconteftable proofs of her confent to that barbarous deed, of her criminal amours, and her concurrence in the pretended rape [13]. Stunned by this latent

blow,

12. Goodall, vol. ii. Anderfon, vol. iv.

13. Some bold attempts have lately been made to prove thefe Letters and Sonnets to be forgeries; but, unfortunately for Mary's reputation, the principal arguments, in fupport of their authenticity, yet remain unanfwered. 1. They were examined and compared with her acknowledged hand-writing, in many letters to Elizabeth, not only by the Englifh commiffioners, and by the Scottifh council and parliament, but by the Englifh privy council, affifted by feveral noblemen well affected to the caufe of the queen of Scots, who all admitted them to be authentic. (Anderfon, vol. iv.) This circumftance is of great weight in the difpute; for although it is not very difficult to counterfeit a fubfcription, it is almoft impoffible to counterfeit any number of pages, fo perfectly as to elude detection. 2. Mary and her commiffioners, by declining to refute the charge of the Regent, though requefted to attempt a refutation in any manner or form, and told by Elizabeth, that filence would be confidered as the fulleft confeffion of guilt, feemed to admit the juftice of the accufation. (Id. Ibid.) 3. The duke of Norfolk, who had been favoured with every opportunity of examining the Letters in queftion, and who gave the ftrongeft marks of his attachment to the queen of Scots, yet believed them to be authentic. (*State Tryals*, vol. i.) 4. In the conferences between the duke, Maitland of Lethington, and bifhop Lefley, all zealous partizans of Mary, the authenticity of the Letters, and her participation in the murder

of

blow, againſt which it appears they were not provided with any proper defence, Mary's commiſſioners endeavoured to change the inquiry into a negociation; and finding that attempt impracticable, as the Engliſh commiſſioners inſiſted on proceeding, they finally broke off the conferences, without making any reply.

Elizabeth having got into her poſſeſſion theſe evidences of her rival's guilt, began to treat her with leſs delicacy. Orders were given for removing Mary from Bolton, a place ſurrounded with Catholics, to Tutbury, in the county of Suffolk. And as Elizabeth entertained hopes that the queen of Scots, depreſſed by her misfortunes, and ſcarce recovered from the ſhock of the late attack on her reputation, would now be glad to ſecure a ſafe retreat at the expence of her grandeur, ſhe promiſed to bury every thing in oblivion, provided Mary would agree either to confirm her reſignation of the crown, or to aſſociate her ſon with her in the government, and let the adminiſtration remain with the earl of Murray during the minority of James. But that high-ſpirited princeſs refuſed all treaty on ſuch terms. "Death," ſaid ſhe, "is leſs dreadful than ſuch an ignominious ſtep. Rather than give away with my own hands, the crown which deſcended to me from my anceſtors, I will part with life: but the laſt words which I utter ſhall be thoſe of a queen of Scotland[14]!"

After an end had been put to the conferences, the Regent

of her huſband, are always taken for granted. (Id. Ibid.) 5. But, independent of all other evidence, the Letters themſelves contain many internal proofs of their authenticity; many minute and unneceſſary particulars, which could have occurred to no perſon employed to forge them, and which, as the Engliſh commiſſioners ingeniouſly obſerved, "were unknown to any other than to herſelf and Bothwell." 6. Their very indelicacy is a proof of their authenticity; for although Mary, in an amorous moment, might ſlide into a groſs expreſſion, in writing to a man to whom ſhe had ſacrificed her honour, the framer of no forgery could hope to gain it credibility, by imputing ſuch expreſſions to ſo polite and accompliſhed a princeſs as the queen of Scots.

14. Haynes, p. 497. Goodall, vol. ii.

returned

returned into Scotland, and Mary was confined more closely than ever. In vain did ſhe ſtill demand, that Elizabeth ſhould either aſſiſt her in recovering her authority, or permit her to retire into France, and make trial of the friendſhip of other princes. Aware of the danger attending both theſe propoſals, Elizabeth reſolved to comply with neither, but to detain her rival ſtill a priſoner;—and the proofs produced of Mary's guilt, ſhe hoped, would apologize for this ſeverity. The queen of Scots, however, before the Regent's departure, had artfully recriminated upon him and his party, by accuſing them of having deviſed and executed the murder of the King. And although this accuſation, which was not given in till after the diſſolution of the conferences, was generally conſidered as a mere expreſſion of reſentment[15], Mary had behaved with ſo much modeſty, propriety, and even dignity, during her confinement, that her friends were enabled, on plauſible grounds, to deny the reality of the crimes imputed to her; and a ſcheme was formed in both kingdoms, for reſtoring her to liberty and replacing her on her throne.

The fatal marriage of the queen of Scots with Bothwell was the grand ſource of all her misfortunes. A divorce only could repair, in any degree, the injuries her reputation had ſuffered by that ſtep; and a new choice ſeemed the moſt effectual means of recovering her authority. Her friends therefore looked out for a huſband, whoſe influence would be ſufficient to accompliſh this deſirable end. A foreign alliance was, for many reaſons, to be avoided; and as the duke of Norfolk was, without compariſon, the firſt ſubject

15. Hume, vol. v. If Mary's commiſſioners could have produced any proofs of the earl of Murray's guilt, they would ſurely, as able advocates and zealous partizans, have prevented the accuſation of her enemies; or they would have confronted accuſation with accuſation, inſtead of breaking off the conferences at the very moment the charge was brought againſt their miſtreſs, and when all their eloquence was become neceſſary for the vindication of her honour.

in

in England, and enjoyed the rare felicity of being popular with the moſt oppoſite factions, his marriage with the queen of Scots appeared ſo natural, that it had occurred to ſeveral of his own friends, as well as to thoſe of Mary. Maitland of Lethington opened the ſcheme to him. He ſet before that nobleman the glory of compoſing the diſſenſions in Scotland; and, at the ſame time, held to his view the proſpect of reaping the ſucceſſion of England. The duke readily cloſed with a propoſal ſo flattering to his ambition; nor was Mary herſelf averſe againſt a meaſure which promiſed ſo deſirable a change in her condition[16].

But this ſcheme, like all thoſe formed for the relief of the queen of Scots, had an unfortunate iſſue. Though the duke of Norfolk, who poſſeſſed in an eminent degree the good graces of his ſovereign, as well as the favour of the whole nation, had declared that Elizabeth's conſent ſhould be obtained before the concluſion of his marriage, he attempted previouſly to gain the approbation of the moſt conſiderable Engliſh nobility, as he had reaſon to apprehend a violent oppoſition from her perpetual and unrelenting jealouſy of her rival; and as the nation now began to deſpair of the queen's marrying, and Mary's right to the ſucceſſion was generally held to be undoubted, her alliance with an Engliſhman, and a zealous Proteſtant, ſeemed ſo effectually to provide againſt all thoſe evils, which might be apprehended from her choice of a foreign and a popiſh prince, that the greater part of the peers, either directly, or tacitly, approved of it as a ſalutary project. Even the earl of Leiceſter, Elizabeth's avowed favourite, ſeemed to enter zealouſly into Norfolk's intereſts, and wrote, with his own hand, a letter to Mary, ſubſcribed by ſeveral other noblemen, warmly recommending the match[17].

A. D. 1569.

So extenſive a confederacy could not eſcape the vigilance of Elizabeth, or of Cecil, her prime miniſter, a man of the

16. Camden. Haynes.

17. Leſley. Haynes.

deepeſt

deepeſt penetration, and ſincerely attached to her perſon and government. Norfolk, however, flattered himſelf, that the union of ſo many noblemen would make it neceſſary for the queen to comply; and in a matter of ſo much conſequence to the nation, the taking a few ſteps without her knowledge could ſcarce, he thought, be reckoned criminal. But Elizabeth thought otherwiſe. Any meaſure to her appeared criminal, that tended ſo viſibly to ſave the reputation and increaſe the power of her rival. She alſo ſaw, that, how perfect ſoever Norfolk's allegiance might be, and that of the greater part of the noblemen who eſpouſed his cauſe, they who conducted the intrigue, had farther and more dangerous views than the relief of the queen of Scots: and ſhe dropt ſeveral hints to the duke, that ſhe was acquainted with his deſigns, warning him frequently to "beware on what pillow "he repoſed his head [18]!" Certain intelligence of this dangerous combination was at length given her by Leiceſter, who had perhaps countenanced the project with no other intention than to defeat it. The Scottiſh Regent, threatened with Elizabeth's diſpleaſure, alſo meanly betrayed the duke; put his letters into her hands, and furniſhed all the information in his power. Norfolk was committed to the Tower; ſeveral other noblemen were taken into cuſtody; and the queen of Scots was removed to Coventry, where her impriſonment was rendered more intolerable, by an exceſs of vigilance and rigour [19].

This intrigue was no ſooner diſcovered than an attempt was made for reſtoring the Scottiſh queen to liberty by force of arms. The earls of Northumberland and Weſtmoreland, two of the moſt ancient and powerful of the Engliſh peers, were both attached to the Romiſh religion, and diſcontented with the court, where new men and new meaſures prevailed. Ever ſince Mary's arrival in England, they had warmly eſpouſed her intereſt, and had even engaged in ſeveral plots

18. Camden. Spotſwood. 19. Haynes.

for

for her relief. They were privy to Norfolk's ſcheme; but the moderation and coolneſs of that nobleman did not ſuit their ardour and impetuoſity. The liberty of the Scottiſh queen was not their ſole object: they aimed at bringing about a change in the religion, and a revolution in the government of the kingdom. For theſe purpoſes they had ſolicited the aid of the king of Spain, the avowed patron of popery, and the natural enemy of Elizabeth. Glad of an opportunity of diſturbing the tranquillity of England, Philip ordered the duke of Alva, governor of the Low Countries, to encourage the two earls in their projected rebellion, by a promiſe of money and troops[20]. But Elizabeth fortunately got intelligence of their deſign, before they were ready to take the field; and though they immediately aſſembled their retainers, and flew to arms, the queen acted with ſo much prudence and vigour, that they were obliged to diſperſe themſelves without ſtriking a blow[21]. The common people retired to their houſes, the leaders fled into Scotland.

Elizabeth was ſo well pleaſed with the Duke of Norfolk's behaviour, during this inſurrection, that ſhe releaſed him from the Tower, and allowed him to live in his own houſe, though under ſome ſhew of confinement. But the queen of Scots, with whom he promiſed to hold no farther correſpondence, was only more ſtrictly guarded; and Elizabeth, ſenſible of the danger of detaining her any longer in England, reſolved to give up Mary into the hands of the Regent, whoſe ſecurity, no leſs than the Engliſh queen's, depended on preventing her from aſcending the throne. The negociation for this purpoſe had been carried ſome length, when it was diſcovered by the vigilance of Leſley biſhop of Roſs, who, together with the French and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, remonſtrated againſt the infamy of ſuch a tranſaction. A. D. 1570. A delay was by that means procured; and the violent death of the Regent, who was ſhot, in revenge of a

20. Carte, vol. iii. 21. Camden.

domeſtic

domeſtic injury, by a gentlemen of the name of Hamilton, prevented the revival of the project[22].

On the death of the earl of Murray, who was a man of vigour and abilities, but of an auſtere and unamiable character, Scotland relapſed into a ſtate of anarchy. The queen's party ſeemed for a time to prevail: but, at length, through the interpoſition of Elizabeth, who accompanied her recommendation with an armed force, the earl of Lennox, the king's grandfather, was elected regent; and Mary, after being amuſed during ten months, by a deceitful negociation, and the hopes of liberty, found herſelf under ſtricter cuſtody than ever, and without any hopes of eſcaping from it[23]. In that joyleſs ſituation we muſt leave her for a while, and take a view of the civil wars on the continent, the iſſue of which nearly concerned both the Britiſh queens.

Elizabeth was ſenſible, that, as the head of the Proteſtant party, her ſafety in a great meaſure depended on the continuance of the commotions in France and the Low Countries. She therefore contributed, as we have ſeen, both ſecretly and openly, to enable and encourage the reformers to ſupport the ſtruggle, while ſhe watched the motions of the Catholics with a jealous eye. And an event happened about this time, which increaſed her vigilance. Pope Pius V. after having endeavoured in vain to conciliate, by gentle means, the friendſhip of Elizabeth, iſſued a bull of excommunication againſt her; depriving her of all title to

A. D. 1571.

22. Carte, vol. iii. Anderſon, vol. iii. Part of Hamilton's eſtate had been beſtowed upon one of the Regent's favourites, who ſeized his houſe and turned out his wife naked, in a cold night, into the fields; where, before morning, ſhe became furiouſly mad. From that moment he vowed revenge againſt the earl of Murray. Party-rage ſtrengthened and inflamed his private reſentment; and the maxims of that age juſtified the moſt deſperate courſe he could take to obtain vengeance. He followed the Regent for ſome time, watching an opportunity to ſtrike the blow; and at laſt ſhot him from a window as he was paſſing through Linlithgow, in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Crawfurd's Mem. Buchanan. Robertſon.

23. Spotſwood. Leſley.

the

the crown, and abſolving her ſubjects from their oath of allegiance. This bull, which had no doubt been fulminated at the inſtigation of the Catholic princes, was affixed to the gates of the biſhop of London's palace, by one John Felton, a zealous Papiſt; who, ſcorning either to flee or deny the fact, was ſeized, condemned, and executed. He not only ſuffered with conſtancy, but ſeemed to conſider death, in ſuch a cauſe, as a triumph[24].

Thus rouſed by the violent ſpirit of popery, Elizabeth, who had never been remiſs, fixed her eye more ſteadily on the religious wars in France and the Low Countries. The league concerted at Bayonne, as has been already noticed, for the extermination of the Proteſtants, had not been concluded ſo ſecretly, but intelligence of it had reached Condé, Coligny, and other leaders of that party in France. Finding the meaſures of the court correſpond with their ſuſpicions, they determined to prevent the cruel perfidy of their enemies, and to ſtrike a blow before the Catholics were aware of the danger. In conſequence of this reſolution, they formed, in 1567, the bold deſign of ſurpriſing the king and queen-mother who were living in ſecurity, at Monceaux in Brie; and had not the court received ſome accidental information of the conſpiracy, which induced them to remove to Meaux, and been beſides protected by a body of Swiſs, who came haſtily to their relief, and conducted them with great intrepidity to Paris, they muſt have fallen without reſiſtance into the hands of the Hugonots[25].

A battle was ſoon after fought in the plains of St. Denis; where, though the old conſtable Montmorency, the general of the Catholics, was ſlain, the Hugonots were defeated, by reaſon of their inferiority in numbers. Condé, however, ſtill undiſmayed, collected his broken troops; and having received a ſtrong reinforcement of German Proteſtants, appeared again in the field at the head of a formidable force.

24. Camden, p. 428.

25. Davila, lib. iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

With that new army he traverſed great part of the kingdom; and at laſt laying ſiege to Chartres, a place of much importance, obliged the court, in 1568, to agree to an accommodation [26].

This peace, being but a temporary expedient, and ſincere on neither ſide, was of ſhort duration. The queen-mother, deceitful in all her negociations, had laid a plot for ſeizing Condé and Coligny. They received intelligence of their danger, fled to Rochelle, and ſummoned their partizans to their aſſiſtance. Thither the Hugonots reſorted in great numbers, and the civil war was renewed with more fury than ever. The duke of Anjou, brother to the king, commanded the Catholics; and gained, in 1569, under the direction of the marechal de Tavannes, the famous battle of Jarnac, after a ſtruggle of ſeven hours. The prince of Condé being wounded and made priſoner, was carried off the field, and killed in cold blood by a captain of the duke of Anjou's guards [27].

But this defeat, though accompanied with the loſs of ſo great a leader, did not break the ſpirit of the Hugonots. Coligny, whoſe courage was ſuperior to all difficulties, ſtill gallantly ſupported their cauſe; and having placed at the head of the party the king of Navarre, only ſixteen years of age, and the young prince of Condé, to both of whom he acted as a father, he encouraged the Proteſtants rather to periſh bravely in the field than by the hands of the executioner. Their ardour was not inferior to his own; and being ſtrengthened by a new reinforcement of Germans, they obliged the duke of Anjou to retreat, and inveſted Poitiers [28].

As the eyes of all France were fixed on this enterprize, the young duke of Guiſe, emulous of the renown which his father had acquired by the defence of Metz, threw himſelf into Poitiers, and ſo animated the garriſon by his valour and

26. Id. Ibid. 27. Mezeray, ubi ſup. Henault, tom. i.
28. Davila, lib. v.

conduct,

conduct, that Coligny was obliged to raise the siege, in spite of his most vigorous efforts, after losing three thousand men[29]. Such was the rise of the reputation of the second duke of Guise, whom we shall afterward see attain so distinguished a height of fame and grandeur, and whose ambition engaged him in schemes so destructive to the authority of his sovereign, and the repose of his native country.

Elizabeth, ever watchful of the civil commotions in France, was by no means pleased with this revival of the power of the house of Lorrain; and being anxious for the fate of the Protestants, whose interests were so intimately connected with her own, she sent them secretly a sum of money, besides artillery and military stores[30]. She also permitted Henry Champernon to levy and transport over to France, a regiment of gentlemen volunteers. Meanwhile Coligny, constrained by the impatience of his troops, and the difficulty of subsisting them, fought with the duke of Anjou and the marefchal de Tavannes, the memorable battle of Moncontour, in which he was wounded and defeated, with the loss of near ten thousand men[31].

The court of France, and the Catholics, elated with this victory, vainly flattered themselves that the power of the Hugonots was finally broken; and therefore neglected to take any farther steps for crushing an enemy no longer thought capable of resistance. What was then their surprise to hear, that Coligny, still undismayed, had suddenly appeared in another quarter of the kingdom; had inspired with all his valour and constancy the two young princes, whom he governed; had assembled a formidable army, accomplished an incredible march, and was ready to besiege Paris!—The public finances, diminished by the continued disorders, and wasted by so many fruitless wars, could not bear the charge of a new armament. The king was there-

29. Id. Ibid. 30. Camden, p. 423. 31. Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

fore obliged to, in 1570, notwithstanding his violent animosity against the Hugonots, to enter into a negociation with them at St. Germain en Laye; to grant them a pardon for all past offences; to declare them capable of all offices, both civil and military; to renew the edicts for liberty of conscience; and cede to them for two years, as places of refuge, and pledges of their security, Rochelle, La Charité, Montauban, and Coignac[32]. The first of these cities kept the sea open for receiving succours from England, in case of a new war; the second preserved the passage of the Loire; the third commanded the frontiers of Languedoc and Querci; and the fourth opened a passage into Angoumois, where the Hugonots had greater strength than in any other province.

Thus an end was seemingly put to the civil wars of France. But Charles was in no degree reconciled to his rebellious subjects: and this accommodation, like all the foregoing, was employed as a snare, by which the perfidious court might carry more securely into execution that project which had been formed for the destruction of the Protestants. Their leaders were accordingly invited to Paris, and loaded with favours; and, in order to lull the party into yet greater security, Charles not only declared, That, convinced of the impossibility of forcing men's consciences, he was determined to allow every one the free exercise of his religion, but affected to enter into close connexions with Elizabeth[33]. Proposals of marriage were made her with the duke of Anjou; a prince whose youth, beauty, and valour, qualities to which the queen never appeared insensible, it was hoped, would serve for some time to amuse the court of England.

Elizabeth, whose artful politics never triumphed so much as in those intrigues which were connected with her coquetry, immediately founded on this offer the project of deceiving the court of France. Negociations, equally insincere on both sides, were accordingly entered into with regard to

32. Id. ibid. 33. Camden. Davila. Digges.

the marriage, and broke off under various pretences. Both courts, however, ſucceeded in their ſchemes. Charles's artifices, or rather thoſe of the queen-mother, impoſed on Elizabeth, and blinded the Hugonots; and the proſpect of that princeſs's marriage, as ſhe expected, and of an alliance between France and England, diſcouraged the partizans of the queen of Scots, ſo ready at all times to diſturb the repoſe of the latter kingdom [34].

Elizabeth had alſo other motives for her diſſimulation. The violent authority eſtabliſhed by Philip in the Low Countries, made her deſirous of fortifying herſelf even with the ſhadow of a new confederacy. Not ſatisfied with having reduced to their former ſtate of obedience the revolted Flemings, whom his barbarous perſecutions had rouſed to arms, that bigoted and tyrannical prince ſeemed determined to make the late popular diſorders a pretence for utterly aboliſhing their privileges, and ruling them thenceforth with an arbitrary ſway.

The duke of Alva, a fit inſtrument in the hands of ſuch a deſpot, being employed by Philip to carry this violent deſign into execution, had conducted into the Low Countries, in 1568, a powerful body of Spaniſh and Italian veterans. The appearance of ſuch an army, with the inexorable and vindictive character of its leader, ſtruck the Flemings with terror and conſternation. Their apprehenſions were but too juſt. The privileges of the provinces were openly and expreſsly aboliſhed by an edict; arbitrary and ſanguinary tribunals were erected; the counts Egmont and Horne, notwithſtanding their great merit and former ſervices, and although they had been chiefly inſtrumental in quelling the late revolt, were brought to the block; multitudes were daily delivered over to the executioner; and nothing was to be heard or ſeen but ſeizure, confiſcation, impriſonment, torture, and death [35].

34. Ibid.

35. Temple. Grotius.

Meanwhile William of Naſſau, prince of Orange, ſurnamed the Silent, whoſe eſtate had been confiſcated, was employed in raiſing an army of German Proteſtants, in order to attempt the relief of his native country; and, having completed his levies, he entered the Netherlands at the head of twenty-eight thouſand men, and offered battle to the duke of Alva. But that prudent general, ſenſible of the importance of delay, declined the challenge; and the Spaniards being in poſſeſſion of all the fortified towns, the prince was obliged, from want of money, to diſband his army, without being able to effect any thing of importance [36].

Alva's good fortune only increaſed his inſolence and cruelty. After entering Bruſſels in triumph, he ordered diligent ſearch to be made after all who had been aiding to the prince of Orange, and put them to death by various tortures. He next commanded citadels to be built in all the principal towns, in order to overawe the inhabitants; and in that of Antwerp he cauſed his own ſtatue to be erected, in the attitude of treading on the necks of two ſmaller ſtatues, repreſenting the two eſtates of the Low Countries, accompanied with the emblems of hereſy and rebellion! Not ſatisfied with enſlaving and inſulting a free people, he proceeded to pillage and oppreſs them with exactions altogether ruinous. He demanded the hundredth penny, as a tax on all goods, whether moveable or immoveable, to ſupply his preſent exigencies; and for the future, the twentieth penny annually on all immoveable goods or heritage; and the tenth penny on all moveable goods, to be levied at every ſale [37]. The inhabitants refuſed to ſubmit to ſuch oppreſſive taxes. Alva had recourſe to his uſual ſeverities; and the Flemings ſeemed in danger of being reduced to the moſt abject ſtate of wretchedneſs, while the courts of France and England were amuſing each other with a marriage treaty.

36. Le Clere, lib. i. Grotius, lib. ii.

37. Id. ibid.

Eliza-

Elizabeth, however, was never inattentive to the affairs of the Low Countries. She was equally diſpleaſed to ſee the progreſs of the ſcheme laid for the extermination of the Proteſtants, and to obſerve the erection of ſo great a military power in her immediate neighbourhood; and hence, as already obſerved, ſhe endeavoured to guard herſelf againſt the ambition of Philip by the appearance of an alliance with France. But her danger from the Low Countries was greater than ſhe was aware of.

The queen of Scots, thinking herſelf abandoned by the court of France, had applied for protection to that of Spain; and Philip, whoſe dark and thoughtful mind delighted in the myſtery of intrigue, had held for ſome time a ſecret correſpondence with Mary, by means of Leſley biſhop of Roſs, her ambaſſador at the court of England, and had ſupplied both herſelf and her adherents in Scotland with money. At length a ſcheme for reſcuing Mary, and ſubverting the Engliſh government, was concerted by the biſhop of Roſs, the Spaniſh ambaſſador, and Rodolphi, a Florentine merchant, who had reſided long in London, and acted privately as an agent for the pope. Their plan was, that the duke of Alva ſhould land ten thouſand men in the neighbourhood of London; that the duke of Norfolk, whom they had drawn into their meaſure, and who had renewed his engagements with the queen of Scots, notwithſtanding his ſolemn promiſe to hold no correſpondence with her, ſhould join the Spaniards with all his friends, together with the Engliſh Catholics and malecontents; that they ſhould march in a body to the capital, and oblige Elizabeth to ſubmit to what conditions they ſhould think fit to impoſe[38].

But the queen and nation were delivered from this danger by the ſuſpicious temper of one of Norfolk's ſervants. Being intruſted with a bag of money under the denomination of

38. State Trials, vol i. Leſley, p. 155.

ſilver,

ſilver, he concluded it to be gold from its weight, and carried it to ſecretary Cecil, now lord Burleigh, whoſe penetrating genius ſoon diſcovered, and whoſe activity brought the whole conſpiracy to light. The duke of Norfolk, betrayed by his other ſervants, who had been privy to the plot, was ſeized, convicted of high treaſon, condemned, and executed. The biſhop of Roſs was committed to the Tower; the Spaniſh ambaſſador was commanded to leave England; and the earl of Northumberland, being delivered up to Elizabeth about this time by the Regent of Scotland, was brought to the block for his ſhare in the former rebellion[39]. Rodolphi, then on his journey to Bruſſels, eſcaped the arm of vengeance.

A. D. 1572.

The queen of Scots, who had been either the immediate or remote cauſe of all theſe diſturbances, was kept under a ſtricter guard than formerly; the number of her domeſtics was abridged, and no perſon was permitted to ſee her but in the preſence of her keepers. The Engliſh parliament was even ſo enraged againſt her, that the commons made a direct application for her inſtant trial and execution[40]. But although Elizabeth durſt not carry matters to ſuch extremity againſt Mary, or was not ſo diſpoſed, the reſtleſs ſpirit of the captive princeſs, and her cloſe connections with Spain, made the queen of England reſolve to act without diſguiſe or ambiguity in the affairs of Scotland.

That kingdom was ſtill in a ſtate of anarchy. The caſtle of Edinburgh, commanded by Kirkaldy of Grange, had declared for Mary; and the lords of her party, encouraged by this circumſtance, had taken poſſeſſion of the capital, and carried on a vigorous war againſt the Regent. By a ſudden and unexpected enterprize, they ſeized that nobleman at Stirling, and ſlew him in revenge of former injuries. They were, however, overpowered by a detachment from the caſ-

39. Id ibid. Strype, vol. ii. Camden, p. 34—40.
40. D'Ewes, *Journ. of Parl.*

tle,

tle, and an insurrection of the townsmen, and obliged to retire with precipitation.

The earl of Marre was chosen regent of Scotland in the room of Lennox, and found the same difficulties to encounter in the government of that divided kingdom. He was therefore glad to accept the mediation of the French and English ambassadors, and to conclude, on equal terms, a truce with the queen's party. He was a man of a free and generous spirit; and finding it impossible to accommodate matters between the parties, or maintain his own authority, without submitting to a dependence on England, he died of melancholy, occasioned by the distracted state of his country.

Marre was succeeded in the regency of Scotland by the earl of Morton, who had secretly taken all his measures in concert with Elizabeth; and as she was now determined to exert herself effectually in support of the king's party, she ordered Sir William Drury, governor of Berwick, to march with a body of troops and a train of artillery to Edinburgh, and to besiege the castle. Kirkaldy, after a gallant defence of thirty-three days, against all the efforts of the commanders of the two nations, who pushed their attacks with courage, and with emulation, was obliged to surrender, by reason of a mutiny in the garrison. He was delivered into the hands of his countrymen, by Elizabeth's order, expressly contrary to his capitulation with Drury, and condemned by Morton to be hanged at the cross of Edinburgh. Maitland of Lethington, who had taken part with Kirkaldy, and could not expect to be treated more favourably, prevented the ignominy of a public execution by a voluntary death. "He ended "his days," says Melvil, "after the old Roman fashion!" and Scotland submitting entirely to the Regent's authority, gave no farther inquietude, for many years, to the English queen [41].

The events on the continent were not so favourable to the

41. Melvil. Crawford. Camden. Strype.

interests,

interests, or agreeable to the inclinations of Elizabeth. After the negociation for a marriage between the English queen and the duke of Anjou was finally broken off, a defensive alliance had been concluded between France and England. Charles IX. considered this treaty, not only as the best artifice for blinding the Protestants, the conspiracy against whom was now almost ripe for execution, but also a good precaution against the dangerous consequences to which that atrocious measure might expose him. Elizabeth, who, notwithstanding her penetration and experience, was the dupe of the French king's hypocrisy, regarded it as an invincible barrier against the enemies of her throne, and as one of the chief pillars of the security of the Protestant cause. Even the leaders of the Hugonots, though so often deceived, gave credit to the treacherous promises and professions of the court; and Charles, in order to complete that fatal confidence, into which he had lulled them, by his insidious caresses, offered his sister Margaret in marriage to the young king of Navarre[42]. April 11.

The admiral de Coligny, the prince of Condé, and all the most considerable men of the Protestant party, went chearfully to Paris, in order to assist at the celebration of that marriage; which, it was hoped, would finally appease the religious animosities. Coligny was wounded by a shot from a window, a few days after the marriage; yet the court still found means to quiet the suspicions of the Hugonots, till the eve of St. Bartholomew, when a massacre commenced to which there is nothing parallel in the history of mankind, either for the dissimulation that led to it, or the deliberate cruelty and barbarity with which it was perpetrated. The Protestants, as a body, were devoted to destruction; the young king of Navarre and the prince of Condé only being exempted from the general doom, on Aug. 24.

42. Davila. Digges. Mezeray.

condition that they ſhould change their religion. Charles, accompanied by his mother, beheld from a window of his palace this horrid maſſacre, which was chiefly conducted by the duke of Guiſe. The royal guards were ordered to be under arms at the cloſe of day: the ringing of a bell was the ſignal; and the Catholic citizens, who had been ſecretly prepared by their leaders for ſuch a ſcene, zealouſly ſeconded the execution of the ſoldiery, imbruing their hands, without remorſe, in the blood of their neighbours, of their companions, and even of their relations; the king himſelf inciting their fury, by firing upon the fugitives, and frequently crying "Kill, kill!"—Perſons of every condition, age, and ſex, ſuſpected of adhering to the reformed opinions, were involved in one undiſtinguiſhed ruin. About five hundred gentlemen, and men of rank, among whom was Coligny, with many other heads of the Proteſtant party, were murdered in Paris alone: and near ten thouſand perſons of inferior condition. The ſame barbarous orders were ſent to all the provinces of the kingdom; and a like carnage enſued at Rouen, Lyons, Orleans, and ſeveral other cities [43]. Sixty thouſand Proteſtants are ſuppoſed to have been maſſacred in different parts of France.

As an apology for this atrocious perfidy, and inhuman butchery, Charles pretended that a conſpiracy of the Hugonots to ſeize his perſon had been ſuddenly detected; and that he had been neceſſitated, for his own ſafety, to proceed to extremities againſt them. The parliament accordingly ordered an annual proceſſion, on St Bartholomew's day, in commemoration of the deliverance of the kingdom; and a medal was ſtruck in honour of the ſame event, with this inſcription (which ſeems to bear a farther meaning) on one ſide, accompanied with the royal arms: PIETAS *excitavit* JUSTITIAM; "PIETY *rouſed* JUSTICE." On the other ſide, Charles is ſeated on a throne, with the ſword of Juſtice

43. Davila, lib. v. P. Daniel, tom. iv. Mezeray, tom. v.

in

in his right hand, and the balance in his left, with a group of heads under his feet, surrounded by these words: *Virtus in Rebelles*; "Courage in punishing Rebels [44]."

At Rome, and in Spain, the massacre of St. Bartholomew, which no popish writer of the present age mentions without detestation, was the subject of public rejoicings; and solemn thanks were returned to God for its success under the name of the *Triumph of the Church Militant!* Among the Protestants it excited incredible horror; a striking picture of which is drawn by Fenelon, the French ambassador at the court of England, in his account of his first audience after that barbarous transaction. "A gloomy sorrow," says he, "sat on every face: silence, as in the dead of night, reigned "through all the chambers of the royal apartment: the "ladies and courtiers clad in deep mourning, were ranged "on each side; and as I passed by them, in my approach to "the queen, not one bestowed on me a favourable look, or "made the least return to my salutations [45]."

The English nobility and gentry were roused to such a pitch of resentment, by the cruelty and perfidy of the French court, that they offered to levy an army of twenty-two thousand foot and four thousand horse; to transport them into France, and to maintain them for six months at their own expence. But Elizabeth, cautious in all her measures, moderated the zeal of her subjects. She was aware of the dangerous situation in which she now stood, as the head and protectress of the Protestant body, and afraid to inflame farther the quarrel between the two religions, by a hazardous crusade; she therefore judged it prudent, not only to refuse her consent to the projected invasion, but to listen to the professions of friendship still made her by the French monarch. Meantime she prepared herself against that attack which seemed to threaten her from the combined force and

44. Mathieu. Dupleix. Le Gendre. Mezeray.
45. Carte, from *Fenelon's Dispatches*.

violence

violence of Charles and Philip: two princes as nearly allied in perfidy and barbarity as in bigotry, and whoſe machinations ſhe had reaſon to dread, as ſoon as they had quelled their domeſtic diſturbances. She fortified Portſmouth; put her fleet in order; exerciſed her militia; and renewed her alliance with the German princes, no leſs alarmed than herſelf at the treacherous and ſanguinary meaſures ſo univerſally embraced by the Catholic powers[46].

But Elizabeth's greateſt ſecurity againſt the attempts of thoſe princes, was the obſtinate reſiſtance made by the Proteſtants in France and the Low Countries. The maſſacre, inſtead of annihilating the Hugonots, only rendered them more formidable. Animated by the moſt ardent ſpirit of civil and religious liberty, inflamed by vengeance and deſpair, they aſſembled in large bodies, or crowded into the cities and fortreſſes in the poſſeſſion of their party; and finding that they could repoſe no faith in capitulations, nor expect any clemency from the court, they determined to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. After one of the moſt gallant defences recorded in hiſtory, the town of Sancerre was obliged to ſurrender, but the inhabitants obtained liberty of conſcience. Rochelle, before which in a manner was aſſembled the whole force of France, ſuſtained a ſiege of eight months. During that ſiege the citizens repelled nine general and twenty particular aſſaults, and obliged the duke of Anjou, who conducted the attack, and loſt twenty-four thouſand men, in the courſe of his operations, to grant them an advantageous peace[47]. Thus ended the fourth civil war, by a treaty which the court did not intend to obſerve, and to which the Proteſtants never truſted.

A. D. 1573.

The miſeries of France increaſed every day, Charles grew jealous of his brothers, and many of the moſt conſiderable men among the Catholics, diſpleaſed with the meaſures of the

46. Camden. Digges.

47. Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

the court, favoured the progreſs of the Hugonots. All things tended to confuſion. In the midſt of theſe diſorders died Charles IX. of a diſtemper ſo extraordinary, that it was univerſally conſidered by the Proteſtants as a viſible ſtroke of divine vengeance. The blood exuded from every pore of his body. Though the author of ſo many atrocious crimes, he was only twenty-four years of age; and that unuſual mixture of ferocity and diſſimulation which diſtinguiſhed his character, threatened ſtill greater miſchiefs both to his native country and to Europe[48]. As he left no male iſſue, he was ſucceeded in the throne of France by his brother, the duke of Anjou, lately elected king of Poland.

A. D. 1574.

48. The character of Charles IX. as might be expected, has been very differently drawn by the cotemporary hiſtorians of the two religions. And an attempt has lately been made by an ingenious writer, who affects liberality of ſentiment, to vindicate that prince from what he conſiders to be the calumnies of the Proteſtants. In proſecution of this deſign, the gentleman who has undertaken to *whitewaſh* the author of the maſſacre of Paris, endeavours to ſhew, by a diſplay of the elegant qualities of Charles, his taſte for the polite arts, and his talent of making verſes, that his mind was naturally ſound and generous, but corrupted by a pernicious ſyſtem of policy, and enſlaved by the machinations of his mother, Catharine of Medicis. As much might be ſaid in favour of Nero, and with more juſtice.

But this writer, in attempting to confound our ideas of virtue and vice, has happily furniſhed us with an antidote againſt his own poiſon. He owns, that ſome weeks after the maſſacre had ceaſed, Charles was not only preſent at the execution of the two Hugonot gentlemen, who had eſcaped the general ſlaughter, "but ſo deſirous of *enjoying the ſight* of their *laſt agonies*, that, as it was *night* before they were *conducted* to the *gibbet*, he commanded *torches* to be *held up* to the *faces* of the *criminals*." (*Hiſt. of the Kings of France of the Race of Valois*, vol. ii.) And the authors, who atteſt this fact, have left us many others of a ſimilar kind; ſo many, indeed, as are ſufficient to induce us to ſuppoſe, that the bigotry and cruelty of Charles IX. were equal to the execution of the maſſacre of St. Bartholomew, without the inſtigation of his mother. One anecdote deſerves particular notice: when the prince of Condé heſitated in renouncing his religion, the king exclaimed, in a furious tone, accompanied with a menacing look, "DEATH, MASS, or the BASTILE!" Davila, lib. v. Mezeray, tom. v.

But

But before we carry farther the account of the civil wars of France, or resume the history of those in the Low Countries, I must turn your eye, my dear Philip, back to the affairs of the empire, Spain, Italy, and Turkey.

LETTER LXVIII.

GERMANY, *from the Resignation of* CHARLES V. *in* 1556, *to the Death of* MAXIMILIAN II. *in* 1576, *with some Account of the Affairs of* SPAIN, ITALY, *and* TURKEY, *during that Period.*

CHARLES V. as we have already seen, was succeeded in the imperial throne by his brother Ferdinand I. the

A. D. 1557. beginning of whose reign was distinguished by the diet of Ratisbon, which confirmed the peace of religion, by reconciling the house of Hesse to that of Nassau [1].

Pius IV. was raised to the papacy in 1559, less obstinate than his predecessor, Paul, confirmed the imperial dignity to Ferdinand. He also issued a bull for re-assembling the council of Trent, the most memorable occurrence under the reign of this emperor.

On the publication of that bull, the Protestant princes as-

A. D. 1561. sembled at Naumburg in Saxony, and came to a resolution of adhering to the confession of Augsburg, whatever should be determined in the council of Trent. Meanwhile Ferdinand issued orders for convoking a diet at Frankfort, where he managed matters with so much address, that his son Maximilian, already promoted to the

A. D. 1562. throne of Bohemia, was elected king of the Romans, with the unanimous consent of the Germanic body. The emperor also endeavoured, on this occa-

1. Heiss, liv. iii.

ſion, but in vain, to perſuade the Proteſtants to ſubmit to the general council. They continued unſhaken in their reſolution of rejecting its decrees. The pope, they maintained, had no right to convoke ſuch an aſſembly; that prerogative belonging to the emperor alone, to whom, as their ſovereign, they were at all times willing to explain themſelves on any ſubject, either civil or religious [2].

Finding the Proteſtants obſtinate in denying the authority of the council of Trent, Ferdinand reſolved to purſue another method of uniting them to the church. For that purpoſe, he preſented a remonſtrance to the fathers of the council, exhorting them to attempt a reformation of manners among the Romiſh clergy, in order to remove thoſe abuſes of which the Proteſtants ſo juſtly complained. But the pope, affirming that ſuch reformation was his peculiar province, would not allow the council to take cognizance of the ſubject. The emperor was alſo diſappointed in a demand which he made, that the council ſhould permit the communion both with and without the cup, among the laity, and the marriage of prieſts in the imperial dominions. His Holineſs would conſent to neither of theſe requeſts [3].

This famous council, which had been ſo often ſuſpended and renewed, and which proved the laſt aſſembly of the kind, was finally diſſolved in December, 1563. Its decrees, like thoſe of all other general councils, were calculated to exalt the church above the civil power; but being little ſuited to the ſpirit of the times, they were rejected by ſome catholic princes, coldly received by others, and deſervedly turned into ridicule by the reformers [4]. The declared object of the council of Trent, in this meeting, was the *reformation* of the church, by which means only a reconciliation with the Proteſtants could have been effected. Inſtead, however, of confining themſelves to theological er-

A. D. 1563.

2. Thuanus, lib. xxviii. Barre, tom. ix.

3. Id ibid.

4. Thuanus. Father Paul

rors,

rors, or attempting to eradicate ecclesiastical abuses, the reverend fathers extended their deliberations to the *reformation* of princes, and composed thirteen articles for exalting the priesthood at the expence of the royal prerogative [5].

Soon after the dissolution of the council of Trent, died the emperor, Ferdinand I. He was succeeded by his son Maximilian II. who, in the beginning of his reign, was obliged to engage in a war against the Turks. Solyman II. whose valour and ambition had been so long terrible to Christendom, though now unfit for the field, continued to make war by his generals. He had even projected, it is said, the conquest of the German empire. The affairs of Transilvania furnished him with a pretext for taking arms. John Sigismund, prince of that country, had assumed the title of king of Hungary (which his mother had resigned, as we have seen, for some possessions in Silesia), and put himself under the protection of the Grand Seignior. Maximilian immediately sent an army against Sigismund, under the command of Lazarus Schuendi. The imperial general took Tokay, and would soon have reduced all Transilvania, had not Solyman dispatched an ambassador to the imperial court, to negociate in behalf of his vassal. By this envoy matters were seemingly accommodated [6].

A. D. 1564.

A. D. 1565.

The sultan, however, had not laid aside his ambitious projects, nor happily the emperor his suspicions. While Maximilian convoked a diet at Augsburg, for regulating the domestic affairs of the empire, and securing it against the Turks, Solyman sent a fleet and army to reduce the island of Malta; whence he hoped to drive the knights of St. John, whom he had formerly expelled from Rhodes, and who still continued, according to the maxims of their order, to annoy the Infidels. But the rock of Malta proved fatal to Solyman's glory. His general, Mustapha, after a siege of almost

5. Ibid.

6. Thuanus, lib. xxxvii.

five

[illegible] months, and the loſs of twenty-four thouſand men, was obliged to abandon the enterprize. La Valette, grand-maſter of Malta, and the whole body of knights, ſignalized themſelves wonderfully on that occaſion; but as the Turks were continually reinforced, he muſt at laſt have been obliged to ſurrender the iſland, if Don Garcia, governor of Sicily, had not come to its relief with twelve thouſand men [7].

Solyman, in revenge of this diſappointment and diſgrace, the greateſt he had ever ſuffered, ſent a fleet to reduce the iſland of Scio, and ravage the coaſt of Italy. And having invaded Hungary with a powerful army, he laid ſiege to Sigeth. This city is ſtrongly ſituated in a marſh, above fifteen miles to the north of the Drave, on the frontiers of Sclavonia, and was then the bulwark of Stiria againſt the Turks. It had a garriſon of two thouſand three hundred men, under the brave count Zerini, who defended it long, with incredible valour, againſt the whole force of the ſultan. Meanwhile the emperor Maximilian lay in the neighbourhood, with an army not inferior to that of the beſiegers, without daring to attempt its relief. At length, all the works being deſtroyed, and the magazine ſet on fire by the enemy, Zerini ſallied out, at the head of three hundred choſen men, and died gallantly with his ſword in his hand [8].

During the ſiege of Sigeth, before which the Turks loſt above thirty thouſand men, Solyman expired in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age. But the emperor, being unacquainted with this circumſtance, which was kept ſecret till after the reduction of the place, had retired toward the frontiers of Auſtria, as ſoon as informed of the fate of Zerini. Solyman was ſucceeded in the Ottoman throne by his ſon, Selim II. who began his reign with concluding a truce of twelve years with Maximilian [9].

In conſequence of this truce, and the pacific diſpoſition of

7. Vertot, *Hiſt. de Chev. de Malth.* tom. iv. Thuanus, lib. xxxviii.
8. Heiſs, [illegible] Barre, tom. ix. Ricaut, vol. ii. 9. Id. Ibid.

the

the emperor, Germany long enjoyed repose, while all the neighbouring nations were disquieted by wars, either foreign or domestic. Selim in the meantime was not idle. After attempting, but without success, to subdue the kingdom of Persia, he turned his arms against the island of Cyprus, which at that time belonged to the republic of Venice.

The pope and the king of Spain, on the first rumour of this invasion, had entered into a league with the Venetians for the defence of Cyprus. But Nicosia, the capital, was taken by storm, before the arrival of the allied fleet; and the commanders being afterward divided in their councils, no attempt was made for the relief of the Cipriots. Meanwhile the Turks, daily reinforced with fresh troops, had reduced all the towns in the island, except Famagosta. That city, after a most gallant and obstinate defence, was obliged to capitulate; and Mustapha, the Turkish general, neither respecting courage in an enemy, nor the faith of treaties, ordered Bragadino, the governor, to be flayed alive, and the companions of his heroism either to be butchered, or chained to the oar [10]. This conquest is said to have cost the Turks an hundred thousand lives.

A. D. 1570.

A. D. 1571.

The fate of Cyprus alarmed the Christian powers, at the same time that it inflamed their indignation. Charles IX. however excused himself, on account of the distracted state of his kingdom, from entering into the league against the Turks; the emperor pleaded his truce; and the German princes were, in general, too much interested in the issue of the religious wars, in France and the Low Countries, to enlist themselves under the banner of the cross. But Philip II. whose Italian dominions were in danger, entered warmly into the cause, and engaged to bear half the expence of the armament. The Venetians fortified their city, and augmented their fleet. Pope Pius V. who was the soul of the enterprize,

10. Thuanus, lib. xlix. Cantemir, *Hist. Ottoman Emp.* tom. ii.

fent

sent twelve gallies under the command of Mark Anthony Colonna. Venieri commanded the Venetian gallies; Doria those of Philip. The chief command was committed to Don John of Austria, natural son to Charles V. who had lately distinguished himself in Spain, by subduing the Morescoes, or descendants of the Moors, whom the severity of the inquisition had roused to arms.

After the reduction of Cyprus, the Turks not only ravaged with impunity the coasts of Dalmatia and Istria, but also those of Italy. Their fleet, consisting of two hundred and thirty gallies, was met by the confederates in the gulf of Lepanto, near Corinth, where was fought Oct. 5. the greatest naval engagement that modern times had seen. The force on both sides was nearly equal, and the dispute was long, fierce, and bloody. All the passions which can animate human nature were roused; and all the instruments of war and destruction, of ancient or modern invention, were employed; arrows, javelins, fire-balls, grappling-irons, cannon, muskets, spears, and swords. The hostile combatants fought hand to hand in most of the gallies, and grappled together, as on a field of battle. Hali, the Turkish admiral, surrounded by four hundred Janizaries, and Don John of Austria, with an equal number of chosen men, maintained such a struggle for three hours. At last Hali was slain, and his galley taken: the banner of the cross was displayed from the main-mast, and the Ottoman admiral's head fixed on the stern, in place of the Turkish standard. All now was carnage and confusion. The cry of "Victory! Victory!" resounded through the Christian fleet, and the Turks every where gave way. They lost thirty thousand men in the conflict; ten thousand were taken prisoners; and fifteen thousand Christian slaves were set at liberty. Thirty Turkish gallies were sunk, twenty-five burnt, one hundred and thirty taken; and if Uluzzali, who was second in command, had not retired with twenty-eight gallies, the Ottoman fleet

had been utterly deſtroyed. The confederates loſt, on the whole, fifteen gallies, and about ten thouſand men [11].

This victory, which filled Conſtantinople with the deepeſt melancholy, was celebrated at Venice with the moſt ſplendid feſtivals. And Pius V. was ſo tranſported when he heard of it, that he exclaimed, in a kind of a holy ecſtacy, "There was "a man ſent from God, and his name was John [12]!" alluding to Don John of Auſtria. Philip's joy was more moderate. "Don John," ſaid he, "has been fortunate, but he "ran a great riſk [13];"—and that riſk, as appeared in the iſſue, was run merely for glory.

The battle of Lepanto, though purchaſed with ſo much blood, and ſo ruinous to the vanquiſhed, was of no real benefit to the victors. After diſputing long what they ſhould do, the Chriſtian commanders reſolved to do nothing till the ſpring. That ſeaſon which ſhould have been employed in taking advantage of the enemy's conſternation, was waſted in fruitleſs negociations and vain-glorious triumphs. The Turks had leiſure, during the winter, to equip a new fleet, which ſpread terror over the coaſts of Chriſtendom, before the confederates were ready to aſſemble; and by the bravery and conduct of Uluzzali, now appointed commander in chief, the reputation of the Ottoman arms was reſtored. The confederates were able to effect no enterprize of importance. Their councils were again divided: they ſeparated. The Spaniards appeared cool in the cauſe; and the Venetians, afraid of being left a prey to the Turkiſh power, ſecretly concluded a peace with the ſultan. They not only agreed that Selim II. ſhould retain Cyprus, but ceded to him ſeveral other places, and ſtipulated to pay him thirty thouſand crowns in gold, toward defraying the expences of the war [14].

A. D. 1572.

A. D. 1573.

The pope was greatly incenſed at this treaty, which was certainly

11. Feuilet, *Vie du Pape Pie V.* Thuanus. Cantemir. Ricaut.
12. Feuilet, ubi ſup.
13. Miniana, lib. vii.
14. Paruta. Ferreras.

certainly diſhonourable to Chriſtendom. But Philip II. whoſe attention was now chiefly engaged by the civil wars in the Low Countries, readily ſuſtained the apology of the Venetians. It was but reaſonable, he ſaid, that the republic ſhould be permitted to know her own intereſt: for him, it was ſufficient, that he had given proofs of his friendſhip to Venice, and of his zeal for the ſupport of the Chriſtian religion[15].

Don John, however, was little pleaſed with the conduct of the Venetians. After ſeparating from the confederates, he had made himſelf maſter of Tunis, where he propoſed to erect an independent ſovereignty; and he hoped next ſeaſon, by means of the league, utterly to ruin the ſultan's naval power, which he foreſaw would be employed to recover that city and its territory. He was not miſtaken in his conjecture. A fleet of three hundred gallies, with forty thouſand land forces on board, was ſent in the ſpring to inveſt Tunis; and the place, though gallantly defended, was taken by ſtorm, and the garriſon put to the ſword, before a ſufficient force could be aſſembled for its relief[16]. A. D. 1574.

During all theſe bloody tranſactions, the mere recital of which makes the human heart ſhrink from the horrors of war, Germany continued to enjoy tranquillity, under the mild government of Maximilian. He died while preparing to ſupport his election to the kingdom of Poland, and was ſucceeded in the imperial throne by his ſon, Rodolph II. a prince who inherited the pacific diſpoſition of his father.

We muſt now, my dear Philip, return to new ſcenes of ſlaughter; to behold Chriſtians and fellow-citizens exerciſing on each other as great barbarities as ever were inflicted upon the followers of Chriſt by thoſe of Mahomet.

15. Miniana, ubi ſup. 16. Cantemir. Ricaut. Ferreras.

END OF THE SECOND VOLUME.